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The experience of Black male administrators at predominantly White four-year institutions of higher education.

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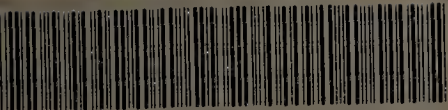
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THE EXPERIENCE OF BLACK MALE ADMINISTRATORS
AT PREDOMINANTLY WHITE FOUR-YEAR INSTITUTIONS
OF HIGHER EDUCATION

A Dissertation Presented

by

CARLTON PICKRON

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

May 1991

School of Education

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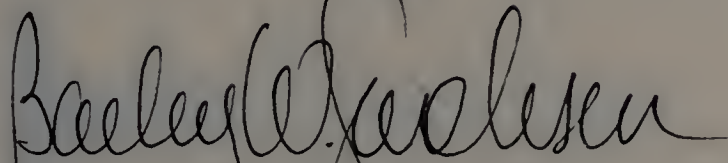
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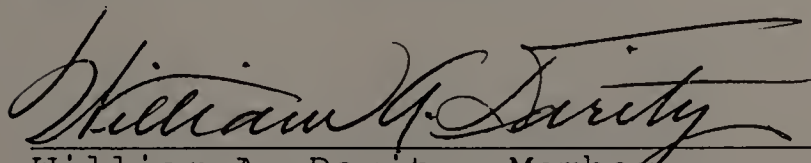
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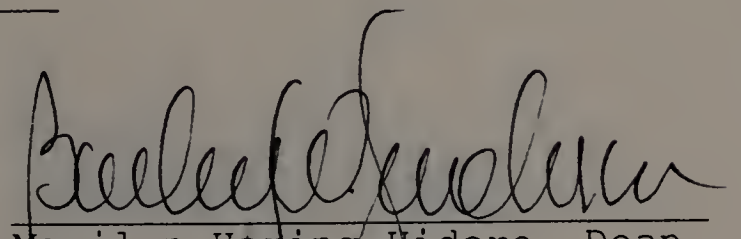
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DEDICATION

Dedicated to my mother, Mrs. Shirley Simmons, my wife, Lisa, and my daughters, Charisse Burgundy and Marita Joy, for their everlasting support which made this study possible.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author wishes to thank God for the physical, intellectual, and spiritual strength to complete this task.

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To the Ed.D. support group, Jim and Travis - thanks.

To Dr. Joan Abdul-Rasool, the outside reader of this study: your role was a critical force and the author thanks you.

And finally, the author wishes to express a heartfelt thank you to the participants of this study. It was a honor to have shared this experience with you.

ABSTRACT

THE EXPERIENCE OF BLACK MALE ADMINISTRATORS AT PREDOMINANTLY
WHITE FOUR-YEAR INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION

MAY 1991

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In-depth interviews were conducted with ten Black male administrators. The interviewing process used a phenomenological approach which focused on the meaning that Black male administrators at predominantly White four-year institutions of higher education make of their work experiences. The meaning made by the participants is based on their personal interpretations and evaluations of their experiences.

The in-depth phenomenological interview procedure utilized three ninety-minute interviews with each of the participants. The first interview asked the participant to reconstruct significant experiences in his life that led him to his current position. In the second interview participants reconstruct aspects of their current experiences in order to give the researcher a better understanding of the participants' work. The third

interview is a culmination of the previous interviews where now participants reflect and make meaning of their work. The interviews were audio tape-recorded and later transcribed verbatim in order to maintain accuracy.

To do justice to the data the researcher presents the material in two ways: first, as summarized narratives of the participants' experiences at predominantly White four-year institutions of higher education and their work experiences in their own words; and second, as a narrative outlining important themes that connect these individuals experiences to the body of literature presented in this study. Themes are analyzed by comparing the profiles (Appendices A - J) of senior administrators, junior administrators, as well as administrators who have institutional responsibilities versus those who have minority-focussed responsibilities.

The common themes that emerged from the data are grouped under eight different headings: Work Environment, Work Experiences, Relationships with Whites, Relationships with Blacks, Mentoring/Support Networks, Being Black, Job Performance, and Issues of Diversity. These headings serve as an organizing framework for discussing institutional implications. The data as well suggests areas of consideration for Black male administrators at predominantly White institutions of higher education.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Introduction and Statement of the Problem

The world of the Negro scholar is indescribably lonely, and he must, somehow pursue truth down the lonely path, while at the same time making certain his conclusions are sanctioned by universal standards developed and maintained by those who frequently do not recognize him. (Franklin, 1963, p. 217)

Although the above statement is twenty-eight years old, it continues to hold true within White academia throughout the United States today. The dilemma of Black professionals' status in White higher education has been with us for over a century and a half with little or no real institutional commitment to bring about change (Taylor, 1947, Moore and Wagstaff, 1974, and Sinegar, 1987). The evidence for this is found in recent articles in educational journals and daily newspapers throughout the country (Burch, 1988, Harvey, 1986, Johnson & Clarke, 1989, Staples, 1986, and Vontress & Jackson, 1988).

In addition, in the past seven years there has been at least one national conference a year with its primary focus on Black faculty or administrators or both at predominantly White institutions of higher education. This further supports the continued accuracy of Franklin's statement.

The issues raised at these conferences deal with the hiring of Black administrators based on competence and then giving these administrators the power to implement decisions and be a part of the decision-making process. Other issues

raised are hiring Blacks in mainstream and senior level administrative positions, increasing Black faculty throughout all disciplines, pluralizing the curriculum and all course content, sensitizing campus environments to the values of a pluralistic society, and concerns of retention and upward mobility (Moore & Wagstaff, 1974, Sinegar, 1987, Exum, 1983, and Smith, 1978).

Most of the research that deals with the topic of Black professionals in White higher education has been focused primarily on Black faculty (Sinegar, 1987, Scott, 1981, Mommsen, 1974, and Exum, 1983). Some work has dealt with the phenomenon of Black administrators, but a great deal of that work was done in the mid to late 1970's (Smith, 1978, Poussant, 1974, Wright, 1981). Although Mims's (1981) work was published in 1981, it was based on data collected in 1978-1979. The most significant research within the scope of Black professionals in White higher education is the work of Moore and Wagstaff, 1974 which encompassed both faculty and administrators. Probably the most significant part of the study was the number of participants that actively took part in the study, over 3000 Black educators from White schools responded; however, this study did not include any in-depth interviewing.

More recent work has not focused on the Black male administrator in particular, but has Black female administrators and Black faculty in general were discussed

(Jackson, 1985, Johnson, 1989, Burch, 1988, Sinegar, 1987, Sizemore, 1984, and Vontress & Jackson, 1988).

Over the past ten to fifteen years, the percentage of Black students enrolled in undergraduate and graduate school has been declining (Staples, 1986), and the number of Blacks receiving doctorates in 1987 is significantly lower than what it was in 1977-1978 (Massey, 1987). With the total numbers of Blacks entering and graduating with BA's or Ph.D's declining, numbers for Black males are declining faster than numbers of Black females (Nickson, 1983). Harvey poses the question of "Where are the Black faculty members?" (Harvey, 1986, p. 90). He suggests that Black faculty members are becoming an "endangered species" at White colleges and universities, and contends that it is not just the Black faculty that are losing out, but White students and faculty as well as Black students.

A point of view consistent with that of Harvey's was shared by a Black male administrator who participated in the researcher's pilot study, but his comments were directed toward the status of Black administrators in mainstream administrative positions on White campuses. He recalled that in the middle 1970's Black administrators, males in particular, were in a number of upper and middle management positions, not only at his school but at the other area institutions as well. But now in the middle to late 80's there are only one or two upper to middle level mainstream Black administrators while there are more Black

administrators at the lower levels in nonpolicy-making positions. He observed that White women appear in a great number of the positions that used to be held by Blacks (Pickron, 1989).

So the dilemma of what is happening to Black professionals on White campuses continues. This study is an attempt to clarify the experiences of Black male administrators at predominantly White campuses by having the participants describe how meaningful their work is within their lives.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study is to further our understanding of the experience of Black male administrators in four-year predominantly White institutions of higher education. Systematic and in-depth interviewing with Black administrators appointed full-time at predominantly White colleges or universities will provide the data base from which to gain perspective of the participants' work experiences.

The study utilizes an in-depth phenomenological interviewing method. This method emphasizes the importance of having the participants reconstruct their work in detail and reflect on its significance within their lives (to be further explained in the methodology section). Through interviews, Black male administrators will be allowed an opportunity to reconstruct and reflect on the concrete

details and constitutive factors of their experiences. Through this method, the subject has the opportunity to articulate for himself or herself the importance of his or her experiences while the interviewer obtains an interpretation of the data which more accurately reflects the interviewee's reality, rather than an interpretation that reflects the interviewer's reality.

Significance of the Study

The study is of significance for the following reasons: First, the literature reveals that the topic of Black professionals in White colleges and universities has been studied with data collected in the late 1970's, and with little or no special focus on Black male administrators in higher education at predominantly White institutions. Of the work that has been done, questionnaires were typically the instrument used and in the few cases where interviews were done they were not the primary source of information. There have been only two studies that used a form of in-depth interviewing or case study methodology; both focused on Black faculty within White colleges and universities (Sinegar, 1987, and Siedman, 1985).

Second, there are a number of themes that have been identified throughout the literature; this study attempts to see how many of these themes influence the work of Black male administrators, as well as discern possible new themes.

The study complements the works that have already been done on Black faculty and Black women administrators. An in-depth study of the experiences of Black male administrators adds a needed dimension to contributions of the Black professional in White higher education.

The position of an administrator is significantly different from a faculty member. A faculty member's primary responsibilities are teaching, scholarly research, committee work, and student advising. Although the percentage of time spent performing these functions will differ by institution and discipline, very little, if any, of a faculty member's time is spent doing administrative work.

On the other hand, administrators often function in one of two ways within an institution; their positions can be within the mainstream administrative structure and be part of the decision-making process, budgeting, policy development and implementation functions, or their positions may fall outside the mainstream where they work in supportive roles for the institution. These latter positions have little to no influence on policy decisions or budgeting priorities and in many cases the decisions that are made by others directly affect the way in which non-mainstream administrators function within the system. This latter administrative role tends to be overrepresented by Black professionals (Smith, 1978).

Third, the literature discusses themes and factors of the experiences of Black professionals in higher education.

The study attempts to explore the experiences and the meaning made by those experiences by Black administrators. The understanding that may come from a study of this nature may shed more light on the declining numbers of Black professionals in White academia.

In summary, there has been research on Black professionals in White higher education, but not on the particular population proposed here and not with the use of in-depth phenomenological interviewing procedures. It is the researcher's belief that a study designed to converse with Black male administrators, using a method whereby the participant reconstructs the details of his work and makes meaning of it within his life, will expand our understanding of this issue in higher education.

Limitations of the Study

Three limitations of the present study were recognized:

1. The data, data analysis and implications of the data are based solely on the perceptions of participants' experiences.
2. All participants within this study are Black males.
3. The majority of participants are administrators overseeing support areas within colleges and universities rather than overseeing academic affairs or academic departments.

Content of the Dissertation

The study using in-depth phenomenological interviewing to explore the experience of Black administrators in White higher education includes the following chapters: Chapter 1 introduces the problem studied; Chapter 2 reviews the literature which pertains to the particular topic of the experience of Black male administrators at predominantly White four-year institutions of higher education; Chapter 3 describes the methods and procedures to be used in selecting participants, conducting the interviews, and processing and analyzing data. Chapter 4 reports the results of the data by use of profiles and identifying themes; Chapter 5 summarizes the research findings and presents implications and recommendations for further investigations.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

This section reviews the literature dealing with the experiences of Black faculty and administrators employed at predominantly White institutions of higher education, as well as the experiences of Blacks in corporate America.

The literature examined falls into two categories:

1) literature which presents a historical account of Black faculty and administrators' integration into White higher education institutions; and 2) literature detailing the work experiences of Black professionals employed at predominantly White institutions of higher education and in corporate America. Most of the literature dealing with Black professionals focuses on the experiences of Black faculty, and although there have been some inquiries into the experiences of Black female administrators, there are no studies that focus solely on the experiences of Black male administrators. It is for this reason that much of this review of the literature discusses the literature surrounding the broader topic of Black professionals in higher education. A discussion related to the experience of Blacks in corporate America is provided for comparison.

The existence of a body of literature addressing Black professionals employed at predominantly White institutions of higher education is a fairly recent phenomenon. There were a chosen few Black educators associated with White colleges and universities in the early 1800's, but not until the latter part of the 1800's were they allowed to teach in an official capacity. The Abolitionist movement resulted in those early Black educators joining White faculty at their institutions; however, it is only in the past twenty-five years that a visible number of Blacks began to be employed at predominantly White colleges and universities (Rose, 1960).

The period of the sixties and early seventies represents a pivotal point in which White institutions made greater efforts to bring Black faculty and administrators to their campuses. This is evident in work done by Rose in 1960 and 1964:

An earlier survey undertaken in 1960, employing a 20 percent sample, revealed only 65 Negroes in non-southern schools. Recent contact with the same set of institutions revealed more than a 100 percent increase in the number of academicians employed during the four years since 1960. The most recent poll included a ten percent increase in the original number of respondents. (Rose, 1964, p. 21)

Black Educators in White Institutions of Higher Education: A Historical Perspective

Over the years, the integration of Black faculty at White institutions of higher education has received mixed

reviews by Black scholars. The following two quotes by Taylor (1947) and Moore and Wagstaff (1974) offer a contrast in the perception of these experiences. While Taylor presents a more positive interpretation of the situation, Moore and Wagstaff offer a more negative assessment:

One of the most surprising and gratifying developments in American education in modern times is the current tendency on the part of White colleges to consider for appointment to their teaching staffs Negro scholars of attainment and promise.
(Taylor, 1947, p.369)

Moore and Wagstaff's statement comes 27 years after Taylor's. In analyzing the results of a survey including over 3,000 Black professionals at White institutions, Moore and Wagstaff conclude in their book, Black Educators in White Colleges, "A Black educator in a predominantly White college or university perceives himself as an alien" (p. 2). They go on to say that, "He is an alien first of all because he is Black. To be Black in any major institution in America is to be different. And when one looks different, he is looked upon differently" (Moore and Wagstaff, 1974, p. 2). In a 1989 conversation with Moore, it seems to the researcher that Dr. Moore believes the above statement is still accurate.

Given these two contrasting statements, which view does the research support? Some of the early American Black scholars served in various official and unofficial capacities in White academia. One such unofficial Black teacher was George Moses Horton; born a slave around 1797,

his master allowed his services to be used by the President of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Here Horton learned to read and write; he then went on to tutor weak students at the University, as well as publish two books: The Hope of Liberty (1829) and Naked Genius (1865). (Taylor, 1947) Charles L. Reason was one of the earliest Blacks appointed to a regular teaching position at a White college. In 1849 Reason took a position at New York Central College at McGrawville, New York in the Mathematics Department.

As far as can be determined, during the 1840's and 1850's only three other Black scholars taught at White colleges in the United States: Richard T. Greener, University of South Carolina, William G. Allen and George B. Vachon, Oberlin College in Ohio. In the 1860's, Fanny Jackson served as a tutor for freed men and also taught a class of Whites in the preparatory department at Oberlin College. A Black Jesuit priest, Father Patrick Healy, faculty member at Georgetown University, rose from the rank of instructor to President of the institution in 1873 (Exum, 1983). At the turn of the century W.E.B. DuBois was appointed Assistant Instructor at the University of Pennsylvania in 1896, where his duties included some lecturing, but primarily research. His research led to his second book, The Philadelphia Negro. William A. Hinton began as an instructor at Harvard in 1918. He remained at that rank for 26 years and three as lecturer, before the

rank of professor in 1949 had been bestowed upon him the year before he retired (Exum, 1983).

During the 1940's three organizations assisted in the advancement of the Black educator on White campuses: the Julius Rosenwald Fund, the General Education Board, and the American Friends Service Committee. For example, the General Education Board in 1945 granted New York University \$18,000 to support a visiting lectureship for schools and colleges to introduce Black scholars to White campuses. Lastly, the Julius Rosenwald Fund periodically sent lists to college presidents, calling their attention to the availability of qualified Black scholars to join their faculties.

Allison Davis, a Rosenwald Grant recipient, and Abram L. Harris, were appointed to the University of Chicago in the 1940's. As far as can be determined by the researcher, Davis's and Harris's appointments became the first permanent faculty positions held by Blacks on a major White university campus.

As reported by Green (1946) about 330 Black Americans held doctoral degrees and about 25 other Blacks were employed by White institutions of higher education. By 1949, the number of Black educators that had secured positions at White colleges and universities had increased to 133, and the number of Blacks holding doctoral degrees increased to 622 (Atwood, Smith, and Vaughn, 1949).

James Allen Moss studied Negro teachers in predominantly White colleges in 1958. Moss utilized data from his earlier study, "The Utilization of Negro Teachers in the Colleges of New York State, 1957," and data collected from interviews with four distinguished Black scholars: W.E.B. DuBois, E. Franklin Frazier, Kenneth Clark, and John Hope Franklin. Responding to the question of adequacy of the number of Black teachers in the system, Black teachers in the New York College system felt the number was inadequate. Their reasons for the low number paralleled the responses of Professors DuBois, Frazier, Clark, and Franklin, who felt there was a reluctance on the part of qualified Blacks to apply for available positions and a reluctance on the part of Whites to accept Blacks as intellectual equals. Moreover, this reluctance or apathy by White colleges and universities to recruit qualified Black scholars was seen as the key for the small numbers. Moss concludes that there must be a "modification of attitudes on the part of Negroes, Whites in the general society, and on the part of predominantly White colleges, if any appreciable increase in the number of Negro teachers is to occur (Moss, 1958, p. 459).

Clark further pointed out some inconsistencies with some of the White colleges' ethics and roles: I think ...if they were really fulfilling their roles: pioneers in society - if they were really fulfilling their role of freedom, complete academic freedom - they would have been...far ahead of other areas in society. (Moss, 1958, p. 459)

In saying "other areas," Clark is referring to the armed services, and Blacks' participation in major league baseball, for example.

Some eight years after Moss's study, another researcher, Harold M. Rose concludes similar findings:

Our academic institutions have not taken a position of leadership in regards to the expansion of employment opportunities for Negro educators in the academic marketplace. They have reflected the ill of society rather than assumed a leadership role in attempting to alter the social order.
(Rose, 1966, p. 26)

It appears to have taken an eruption of society, the magnitude of the Civil Rights movement of the 50's and 60's, to force academia to recruit Black scholars with greater vigor. However, this new recruitment effort was not based on a desire for true academic reform, but was merely a token response to the current state of society. During this period, a number of the Black administrators were employed by White colleges and universities to oversee Black student or "disadvantaged student" programs while Black faculty at these institutions were hired by Departments of Black Studies or Ethnic Studies, to teach the "Black Experience." This can be seen as a form of 'Ghettoizing' these Black professionals, i.e. restricting them to positions with little or no power and out of the mainstream of the larger institution.

Robert E. Staples, in his 1972 article, refers to the "White ivory tower" when talking about White colleges and universities. He says, "There is a common perception that

most Black academicians who teach in White universities face no particular problem to speak of" (Staples, 1972, p. 43). However, Professor Staples does not share this perception and goes on to identify various barriers that one has to overcome to be successful in White institutions of higher education. First of these barriers is entrance to graduate school, overcoming the White-oriented entrance requirements. Once graduated and employed, the Black scholar must deal with getting his/her work published in addition to issues of collegiality, racism, and the daily "duality of his roles: as a scholar and as a member of the Black community" (Staples, 1972, p. 46). Black scholars must question to whom they owe their allegiance - the university or the Black community. To further illustrate the dilemma of the Black scholar, Staples refers to a conversation by Malcolm X and a Negro scholar, "Malcolm asked this man if he knew what Whites called a Negro with a Ph.D. The man responded that he did not know. Malcolm X replied, 'Nigger'" (Staples, 1972, p. 48).

In the middle 1970's, numbers of Black scholars at White universities continued to be low, with the top ten institutions that produced Black doctorates the same White institutions that did employ these scholars (Mommson, 1974). Eighty-three percent of the first positions obtained by Black post doctorates were at Black colleges and universities; furthermore, 82% of these scholars' present positions remained in Black higher education. "In fact, 73

percent describe their entire post doctorate career pattern as all positions in predominantly Black or Negro institutions" (Mommson, 1974, p. 109).

The results of one of the most extensive and informative studies dealing with the issue of Black professionals in White colleges and universities was published in 1974 by William Moore, Jr. and Lonnie Wagstaff. Entitled Black Educators in White Colleges, the findings of this study were based on the responses of 3,228 Black men and women from both predominantly White two-year colleges and four-year institutions of higher education. This study revealed that the position of Blacks was not secure in White higher education, by any means. Although they were well-qualified, hard-working, and dedicated, Black professionals still constituted a ridiculously small number. These same well-qualified individuals were usually awarded the lowest rank; in fact, only "17 percent of the respondents held a rank above the assistant professor level" (Moore and Wagstaff, 1974, p. 4). This study also revealed that Black women experienced equal amounts of discrimination as Black men.

It appears that Black educators do not trust White colleagues; "Only 16 percent of the respondents felt they could trust their (White) colleagues" (Moore and Wagstaff, 1974, p. 3). This reinforces an earlier point in this paper that referred to the alien status of Black educators on

White campuses. These types of responses led Moore and Wagstaff to write:

They find themselves covertly sizing up their powerful White colleagues as real enemies, seeing in the eyes of their fellow aliens the same loneliness and obscurity they feel, and waiting, always waiting, for the inevitable moment when another White colleague will confirm the ancient suspicion of racism. In a sense, it is a tragedy to be so calibrated that one does not trust one's colleagues. But so ingrained is the suspicion and so real, the past inequities that when a Black does find a White who cares about him and respects him, it's a trauma for him." (Moore and Wagstaff, 1974, p. 3)

As bleak as this may seem in 1974, similar words were written about ten years earlier by John Hope Franklin of the University of Chicago:

The world of the Negro scholar is indescribably lonely, and he must, somehow, pursue truth down the lonely path, while at the same time making certain his conclusions are sanctioned by universal standards developed and maintained by those who frequently do not recognize him." (Franklin, 1963, p. 217)

This trend of alienation continues in 1983; a Black administrator at the State University of New York states:

"For faculty on majority campuses, it can be very lonesome. You are often the only Black in your department, possibly in your division. Maintaining your own Black identity is difficult but key to your survival" (Nickson, 1983, p. 50).

The following studies address the issues of Black administrators on White campuses. These Black professionals are typically in positions where they feel stress and strain across at least three worlds: the world of the White institution, the Black community or students, and

themselves. Black administrators usually are hired in positions outside the major power structure and hierarchy of the institution, i.e. typically in positions funded by the federal or state government, and in positions without power or authority to influence institutional policy.

Calvert H. Smith, Vice Provost, University of Cincinnati, states:

The life of the Black administrator in an institutional setting is a peculiar one. Not only is he usually hired for the wrong reasons but he is also given powerless positions in the institution, making it extremely difficult for him to influence decision-making activities. (Smith, 1978, p. 327)

Smith goes on to give a recommendation for senior administrators and institutions to consider:

The course of action which holds the greatest promise is that which would result in his being appointed to given line positions within the institution, giving him to implement decisions once made. This latter course of action will only be taken, however, when institutions hire Black administrators because of their competence and not to pad their affirmative action reports or to pacify the Black community. (Smith, 1978, p. 327)

In 1979 the findings of an internal study were reported in "Black Survival in White Academe," by Anderson, Frierson and Lewis. This study was conducted at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (UNC-CH) by its Black Faculty Staff Caucus, with the intent to review the composition of Black faculty and staff, and to assess perceptions of the racial climate and academic environment at the University. The overall finding was that, "survival in a hostile environment has confronted Black people throughout their

history in North America. The struggle of Black academicians in desegregated institutions of higher learning is just a new variation on the old theme of making it in the White world" (Anderson, Frierson and Lewis, 1979, p. 92).

Out of a potential of 66 respondents, 42 participated in the study; at the time of the study UNC-CH had a professional staff of 2,176 faculty and staff (October 1975).

Key findings of this study reinforce the earlier work of Moore and Wagstaff by identifying a less than 3 percent pool of Black professionals employed at the University. It is also significant that of that 3 percent only 57 percent held positions at the University for less than two years and only 3 respondents had been employed five or more years. Two-thirds of the respondents reported that they were the first and only Black in their office or department; 52 percent did not feel close to White colleagues, and two-thirds perceived a general racist attitude and had personally experienced racism within the University. Eighty-one percent of the respondents felt they had little if any input on the planning and decision-making within their office or department; a finding which supports the general picture of alienation and isolation. Blacks as a resource for other Blacks on campus was seen as critical and their most important resource for emotional support (Anderson, Frierson and Lewis, 1979).

"Black professionals represent a highly valued resource to those Blacks employed at predominantly White universities, but this resource is all too scarce" (Anderson, Frierson and Lewis, 1979, p. 99). This study offered some answers to the question: What can Blacks do in these schools to improve situations?

Black academicians must push even stronger affirmative action in the recruitment, hiring and promotion of Blacks in all staff and faculty levels. If Blacks are to survive in White academe, they must unite with other Blacks to develop self-help and socio-professional support systems [Black faculty-staff caucuses] which will promote both psychological well-being and professional growth. (Anderson, Frierson and Lewis, 1979, p.101)

Serge Paul-Emile did a study on Black administrators' perceptions of job satisfaction. His study identified dissatisfaction on the part of Black administrators with the amount of involvement they have with institutional planning and goal setting. These Black administrators felt a sense of insecurity in their positions; this was even more so for middle level administrators (i.e. deans, directors, etc.) who saw no room for growth and advancement. They also experienced greater respect for their positions outside of the institution than within. Lastly, "Black administrators did not have a sense of belonging, and did not feel that they were regarded as a part of the community. A sense of affiliation is important to feelings of success and competence, and ways should be found to make Blacks feel a part of and valued contributors to their institutions" (Paul-Emile, 1981, p.146).

James Jennings speaks of the misuse of minority educators in higher education. "The minority educator, rather than being utilized for his or her professional capacities, instead is used as a buffer between the university and its Black student population. Another role is that of 'fireman'" (Jennings, 1981, p. 152) which entails putting out "fires" or problems concerning race relations or minorities in general. The minority administrator must convince the institution to abandon these old roles and move forward to more equitable ways of operating to benefit minority and non-minority students, the school and the community-at-large (Jennings, 1981).

Wright's (1981) work on current perspectives on Black female administrators leads her to the following conclusions:

Black females are underreported in the fields of administration and management. This lack of representation is due largely to the subjective nature of the selection procedures and the scarcity of individuals in powerful positions to act as mentors for Black females. Black females in administration also encounter problems juggling the roles of wife, mother, woman and career person. In today's era of affirmative action, Black females bear the stigma of being hired only to meet certain quotas. (Wright, 1981, pp. 218-9)

Wright continues to say there is a great need for "occupational equity in the area of management and administration for Black females." (Wright, 1981, p. 220).

Another concern for Black faculty is one of scholarly productivity and those factors that tend to support or inhibit output. Scott (1981) reported his findings on the

subject of Black faculty productivity and interpersonal academic contacts. First Scott identifies some concerns regarding Black productivity:

Directly, products of Black faculty may be judged inferior merely because they were produced by Blacks (who are perceived as inferior by their White colleagues). Indirectly, such products may be judged inferior because they address issues or use methods that are deemed trivial or "non-traditional" by White review committees. And because Blacks are likely to address issues that are of concern to the Black community or to be interested in effecting social change, their products may be subject to this evaluation. (Scott, 1981, p. 225)

A second way in which the productivity of Blacks may be impeded is related to the institution's requirement for Black representation on its various committees since there are so few Blacks to fill these spots (Scott, 1981).

Black faculty may find it necessary to expend a disproportionate amount of time and energy serving the institution's Black community. Counseling Black students, for example, is a task Black faculty are often called upon to do but is seldom considered productive for purposes of promotion or tenure. (Scott, 1989, p. 225)

How does the issue of interpersonal contact with White faculty add to the productivity of Black faculty? Scott's data suggests that:

Contact with Whites, especially informal contact with Whites, does affect productivity, [but] those effects are not the same across academic ranks. This in the effects for different ranks suggest that perhaps career security or instability determines how contact with Whites will affect Black productivity... [The data shows] associate professors' contact with Whites had no effect on productivity. For assistant professors and full professors, informal contact with Whites was significantly related to productivity, albeit negatively for assistant professors and positively for full professors. For lecturers, however, professional

contact with Whites had a negative effect on productivity. (Scott, 1981, p. 235)

Black speaks to the need for change in the evaluative process for Black faculty. He states:

The Black educator must demand to be evaluated in terms of the actual demands of his or her work situation, most of which grow properly out of the needs of Black students, not some alleged universalistic set of criteria that were formulated previous to his or her existence in the academic world and in no way the actual conditions of his or her work situation Black faculty must recognize that such demands are just and requisite because they actually reflect their literal working conditions. (Black, 1981, p. 94)

Nickson reports in her speech delivered at the National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education Conference in 1982, of her research and 17-year career in White higher education and offers thoughts to Black faculty of these institutions:

Maintaining your own Black identity is difficult but key. It is sometimes easier and more rewarding, in terms of promotion, to fall into the 'academic identity' of your department. Standing alone is not always comfortable, popular or rewarding. (Nickson, 1982, p. 5)

Nickson goes on to speak about a responsibility that Black educators have towards their Black students.

"Educating Blacks without educating them as to who and what they are, can be as dangerous or more dangerous than no education at all" (Nickson, 1982, p.5).

Nickson continues to support earlier claims made in this literature review: "If it's a Black problem and you are Black, on a predominantly White university, regardless of where you are, or what your official position is, you will

be called upon to assist in the resolution of the problem" (Nickson, 1982, p. 7).

In Astin's book, Minorities in American Higher Education, 311 minority professionals give insight to the problems they have faced as professionals.

The lack of institutional commitment to minorities, difficulty in gaining the acceptance and respect of colleagues, institutional ethnocentrism that ignores the perspectives and values of other cultures, and being stereotyped and exploited as "minority experts" are in ways that limit opportunities for professional advancement. (Astin et. al., 1982, p. 184)

Stafford speaks to the issue of survival strategies for Black administrators within predominantly White universities, based on the findings of the National Urban League Survey of Minority Professionals in Predominantly White Colleges and Universities, 1982.

One of the first strategies should be an emphasis on mentorships for Black administrators and faculty who have not completed their terminal degrees. Mentorships as a strategy should also become a focal point of Black administrators who are in the first two years of their job. A second strategy should emphasize linkages between [Black] community organizations and Black administrators. The White university has a variety of resources needed by local organizations (computer, research techniques, etc.) and Black administrators are the key. A third strategy is to develop personnel exchanges of Black university administrators in and in civil rights organizations. Each strategy is focused on the survival on the Black administrator. Survival is key, for Black administrators in predominantly White universities who are significant arbitrators during a period of rapid changes in intellectual and technological knowledge in which the Black community is falling seriously behind and failing to address. (Stafford, 1982, p. 141)

Ramseur attempts to identify general sources of stress experienced by Black administrators in White universities. These stressors have emerged from the literature and interviews with Black administrators:

#1 having to cope with two constituencies (and the equivalent of three jobs); #2 the sense of being on "permanent probation" at work and underheightened scrutiny; #3 having an "outside" status or sense of being invisible at the university; #4 direct or subtle racist/sexist acts and expectations.
(Ramseur, 1982, p. 274)

Ramseur continues:

Black administrators often point to the particular types of positions that Blacks hold at White universities as possessed, inherent stressors. Three types of positions are mentioned most frequently: #1 Black focused, e.g. director of a Black studies department, or a minority education service; #2 "Assistant to 'X'" e.g. assistant to the college dean for minority affairs or recruitment; #3 traditional line positions (with minority focus); e.g. college dean, provost, personnel director. (Ramseur, 1982, pp. 275-276)

Ramseur presents the following coping strategies to assist in dealing with the above mentioned stressors - "Realism about the self and the organization, developing support systems, and monitoring and maintaining physical and mental health" (Ramseur, 1982, p. 276).

President Blake of Clark University addressed the general issue of Black upward mobility in American higher education.

[He points out that] significant numbers of Black educators must not only make higher education institutions more responsive to Black students but must make them more responsive to the need to contribute to a fairer and more just political, economic and social order in America. Success will be judged by both the individual advancements and the

collective impact of those who advance in the life of the university. If American higher education absorbs large numbers of Blacks in its faculties and administrations and they are not a force for fundamental change in such areas as curriculum, research and more accurate transmission of our cultural heritage, then Black America will have been failed by its brightest Black minds. America, then, in a world of diversity facing the ascendancy of more and more non-western and non-White people, will become more and more vulnerable as a great world power. (Blake, 1983, p. 194)

Menges and Exum were concerned with the promotion and tenure review of women and minority faculty members. They identified and discussed those barriers which put these particular faculty members at a disadvantage during these processes.

Seniority is seen as a barrier; women and minorities are overrepresented in lower ranks and thus have low seniority and are more vulnerable at times of retrenchment. Teaching and service represent the next major obstacle; there is a tendency for minorities and women to be asked to serve on more committees. Lastly, women and minority faculty are informally pursued by other women and minority students for career and personal guidance because these faculty are positive role models. Also they often are involved in research topics of interest to these students. These activities can impede progress on research productivity, a criteria that tends to be weighted more heavily in promotion and tenure reviews. Another barrier is having to serve on multiple masters committees. Many women and minority faculty are appointed jointly to a traditional academic department and to a program or non-traditional

department such as Women's Studies or Black Studies. These joint appointments may enhance survival of programs but not the survival of individual faculty members. The problem is to whom are you primarily responsible and how does that weigh within your evaluation (Menges and Exum, 1983).

The next barrier is the issue of scholarship or scholarly activity:

Higher education has been dominated by White males; consequently their definitions of learning and of scholarship prevail. Charging that those definitions are incomplete, women and minorities sometimes offer their own scholarship to compensate for what is missing and sometimes radically redefine issues, research paradigms and approaches to teaching. (Menges and Exum, 1983, p.134)

Support networks and "access to supportive colleagues is particularly important to academics at review time" (Menges and Exum, 1983, p. 135).

Lastly, affirmative action and notions of meritocracy act as barriers.

Institutions that have shaped academic culture are relatively homogeneous by class, race, ethnicity and gender. The values they emphasize such as achievement and autonomy, are those congenial to a White, male, middle-class orientation. Many women and minority academicians come from subcultures that have values, expectations, behaviors, and interaction styles different from those of the academic culture. So value conflicts may press even more forcefully in that setting than in American society in general. (Menges and Exum, 1983, p.136)

The authors assert that:

To resolve these problems and ensure equity is both difficult and unrewarding. Under affirmative action, institutions gain rewards, or at least avoid punishment, demonstrating progress toward affirmative action goals. There are no such rewards for making the adjustments necessary to ensure equity in promotion and

tenure. Instead, those adjustments cause disruption and discomfort. In our view, slow progress is less the result of deliberately prejudiced actions than the failure of persons of good will to ensure equity. Without positive efforts, illusions about compliance will combine with the values of academic culture to maintain review systems that slow women's and minorities' progress through higher education's ranks. (Menges and Exum, 1983, pp. 139-40)

Elmore and Blackburn's work on Black and White faculty in White research universities, within the Big Ten schools shows greater similarity of views by Black and White faculty members in areas "regarding work effort, scholarly productivity, racial climate, and reward systems (Elmore and Blackburn, 1983, p.12). This view differs greatly from the majority of research on the topic of Black faculty at White universities; however one finding that came out of their study is that Black faculty feel "there are service performance pressures brought on me by being a Black faculty member in a predominantly White environment" (Elmore and Blackburn, 1983, pp. 12-13). The authors' belief that their findings can be generalized to other schools in the Midwest, and maybe even the East and Far West, is hard to believe given the volume of work that, at least indirectly, refutes these findings.

Resistance to change by the White institution of higher education is well-stated by Harvard President Derek Bok. "Colleges and universities, especially private ones, did not provide adequate opportunities for women and minorities until [they were] required to do so and will not necessarily

meet their obligations to society if they are left entirely to their own devices" (Bok, 1975, p. 4).

Exum's article entitled, "Climbing the Crystal Stair: Values, Affirmative Action, and Minority Faculty," concludes with this statement:

After nearly 15 years of well publicized debate and apparent effort, minority faculty continue to be scarce in predominantly White colleges and universities. Values and beliefs about merit and autonomy enhance the conservation of an already conservative institution. Thus if merit remains the currency of equity, and autonomy a guiding principle influencing the character of the selection and decision-making process, racial inequality in higher education will persist. The controversies and dilemmas raised by affirmative action indicate that competing interests and values each with vocal and vigorous proponents, must be managed. To the degree that they are reconciled, some change may be achieved - and perhaps legitimated - but it is likely to be limited. (Exum, 1983, p. 396)

Staples asserts that change must occur in White higher education. "The university [is a] monument to racial inequality that must be dismantled before the ideology of equal opportunity is a reality for all Americans" (Staples, 1984, p. 16).

"The Drummer Can't Dance: The African American Woman Administrator's Dilemma," is the title of a paper authored by Barbara A. Sizemore. One of the key dilemmas discussed in the paper is sexism; she states, "A problem facing African American women administrators still is the complexity of the relationship with the African American male who shares the values of male superiority with the White male" (Sizemore, 1984, p. 35). This statement is amplified by the words of one African American

administrator: "you have to be as careful with the brothers as you are with the White boys...some of the brothers, in fact, might fool you because you want them to be your friend..." (Sizemore, 1984, p. 36). Sizemore closes her paper with the following statements:

The African American woman administrator generally knows that she has not overcome racism, sexism, and capitalism. She knows what to play on the drums, but she is compromised by the score written by the administration: to keep the thing going, to maintain the equilibrium, to not rock the boat, to be loyal to the system, to follow the rules, to conform. Isolated by the Whites in the system and distrusted by her fellow African Americans, her natural allies, she becomes the tool of the oppressor, like the African American man. The drummer can't dance.
(Sizemore, 1984, p. 38)

Jackson dealt with the roles and perceptions of Black female administrators in White higher education in her dissertation. She addressed the peripheral nature of the positions that Blacks and other minorities hold at these institutions. "The formal institutional and administrative training received by Black female administrators never addressed the issues of classism, racism, sexism and organizational fit" (Jackson, 1985, p. 142). Based on her data, Jackson states, "The Black female administrator seems to be just as lonely and isolated in the 80's as she was in the 60's. Their chances for upward mobility are no greater in the 80's than they were in the 60's. Their lack of power and autonomy in the 60's has not decreased in the 80's" (Jackson, 1985, p. 144).

The issue of survival, as well as professional equity and parity, are key, not only for the Black female administrator but for all non-White administrators of higher education.

Willie conducted a study to address the issues of Black professional recruitment and retention in White colleges and universities. His case study reviewed the work of the Association of Black Faculty and Administrators at Harvard University. This Association was "organized to promote and protect the interests of people of color at this institution and to contribute to the development of a genuine learning environment at Harvard" (Willie, 1984, p. 149). This organization at Harvard and similar groups on other campuses is one visible means of attempting to address the oppressive status of Black professionals on White campuses.

In Seidman's book, In the Words of the Faculty, there is one chapter that deals specifically with minority faculty and the question of equity. He found that minority faculty must deal with racism in their day to day work as well as in other racial issues surrounding their positions, while their non-minority colleagues have fewer issues to contend with. He states: "Once they secured their positions in their colleges, the profiles indicate, they had to work harder, and do their job more thoroughly and more conscientiously, lest they find themselves subject to criticism not normally directed toward their non-minority colleagues" (Seidman, 1985, pp. 209-10).

In one of the profiles, a Black professor speaks of all the fighting he did in 1964 against obvious ignorance and prejudice; he goes on to say, "You know, when I look at it, not much has changed. There has been the illusion that there's been change" (Seidman, 1985, p. 215).

White academia has been described as a place which does not openly welcome Black or other minority professionals to its campuses. This is further echoed by John Slaughter, former Chancellor of the University of Maryland at College Park: "Improving the campus environment is important, but Black students and faculty members must make adjustments. It is an inhospitable environment, but they have to learn to deal with it" (Evans, 1986, p. A10).

Harvey points out institutional racism lingers and it is not only the Black faculty members who lose; he cites White students as another group. "Taking a course with a Black instructor is the best way for White students to overcome their prejudiced misconceptions about the intellectual capabilities of Black people" (Harvey, 1986, p. 90). Another loser is obviously the Black student who lacks role models, mentors and someone to mediate the inhospitable atmosphere at predominantly White colleges and universities (Harvey, 1986). Lastly, there is the loss to White professors:

The presence of Black colleagues affords White professors an opportunity to understand and appreciate Black cultural heritage better, through discussion and mutual exchange of ideas, opinions, and perspectives. For the great majority of White faculty

members, this is an area in which their knowledge base could be broadened considerably. (Harvey, 1986, p. 90)

Harvey contends that professors are becoming an endangered academic species. "The higher-education community must take action to reverse that ominous trend, not only for moral or political reasons, but because it is in our own practical self-interest, as well as that of the larger society, for us to do so" (Harvey, 1986, p. 90).

Marion Oliver emphasizes the number of Black associate-level professors at an institution as an indicator of the institution's commitment to Black faculty.

"Where Blacks are clustered at associate level - and never became full professors - you know that they were brought in simply to fill slots" (Staples, 1986, p. 62).

In a position paper, "American Apartheid in Higher Education," eight professors at the University of Vermont state:

We believe that a larger number of Black students, faculty and staff will add a vital dimension to the educational and cultural life and mission of universities and universities should pursue this aspect of development with the same vigor it pursues research funds or any of its other endeavors. (Burrell, et. al., 1987, p. 7)

These professors recommend that all universities "review and reassess their specific policies and principles that address the mission, quality of curriculum, moral authority and social responsibility that would lead to the development of a comprehensive university" (Burrell, et. al., 1987, p.7).

The authors suggest that by bringing Black faculty, administrators and students to our campuses and integrating

Black culture and achievements into the curriculum this will clearly benefit the Black community as well as the White community. The "growing chasm between the realities of Black and White America must be resolved at the intellectual level by a common commitment to save us all from having them resolved at the animalistic level of street combat" (Burrell, et. al., 1987, p. 7).

In an interview with Wesley L. Harris, the new Dean of the School of Engineering at the University of Connecticut, formerly full professor of Aeronautics at M.I.T., he states that one of the three most important contributions he has made as an engineering professor, is: "demonstrating to detractors that Black folks can perform at M.I.T. on a level equal to theirs. All the misfits, all the critics, now understand that Blacks can, in fact, do maintain first-rate research activity at M.I.T.; that Black folks can teach theoretical courses; that Black folks can generate scholarship" (Mullins, 1987, p. 64). This statement by Harris continues to support the struggle and resistance to Black scholars even in the late 1980's.

Sinegar's dissertation, "Coping with Racial Stressors: A Case Study of Black Professors in White Academe," reinforces previous findings that demonstrate that Black faculty continue to be pressed to serve on a number of committees and asked to assume the role of mentors and counselors to Black students, without these added activities

playing a part in promotion or tenure reviews (Sinegar, 1987).

When discussing the issue of Blacks as role models and counselors for Black students Sinegar cautions, "not all Black professors can be relied upon to provide this important function because some of them do not identify with Blacks" (Sinegar, 1987, p. 165).

Coping strategies for Black faculty tend to be as different as the people themselves. The data shows that Blacks who strongly identify with Whites or at least equally with Whites and Blacks are more likely to feel more comfortable in White academia. Blacks as well as their White peers, generally don't see the importance of race as a socially isolating factor. Conversely Black professors who identify themselves with their race tend to respond aggressively to racial slights, often causing White colleagues a great deal of stress (Sinegar, 1987).

Sinegar advocates that universities hire more faculty and counselors who have the training and experience to work with Black and other socially victimized groups in higher education. Another implication from the study is that all institutions of higher education "should incorporate into their operations a regular series of cross-cultural sensitivity training programs for students, faculty and administrators. These programs would be aimed at making all the parties aware of the complexities of social relations in

a diverse society in an increasingly small world" (Sinegar, 1987, pp. 165-6).

Massey calls for more minority faculty in his article, "If We Want Racially Tolerant Students, We Must Have More Minority Professors." He is troubled to see the same issues he fought for in the 60's regarding equality in higher education, still are issues to be fought for today 20 years later (Massey, 1987). It is not just important for minority students to have minority mentors, but "also important that White students have minority as well as White mentors. It would go a long way toward changing racial intolerance and stereotypical beliefs, which have been so graphically illustrated by the recent events on our campuses, if White students had the opportunity to be taught and advised more than they are now by Black and Hispanic faculty members" (Massey, 1987, p.76).

"Black Faculty on White Campuses - Carry Their Load and Then Some", includes several descriptions of what the experience is like for Black professionals on White campuses - "the most endangered species in higher education" to "higher education superstars" to "the most versatile professionals in higher education" (Matthews, 1987, p.1). Harry Edwards contends that Black faculty on White campuses "have to be willing to work harder in order to achieve their goals" (Matthews, 1987, p.1).

Edwards also states, "the notion that academic progress is a function of collegiality is not true for Blacks, and he

warns that Blacks who compromise their values in order to gain tenure are doomed" (Matthews, 1987, p.11).

Anne Pruitt observes "the fewer minorities there are [at an institution], the greater the drain on them is because demands to be role models or serve on advising and search committees. If they don't get publications out, because of our 'publish or perish' mentality, they will be in trouble." (Matthews, 1987, p.11). Edwards sees the only positive thing going for Black faculty is the "excellence of the work that we do...we have to be the best at what we're doing, and being the best puts us on the cutting edge of new developments" (Matthews, 1987, p.1).

Lenneal Henderson shares his thoughts:
 Minority faculty have to reconcile their professional aspirations, their community obligations and their scholarly responsibilities; it is a lot of pressure. And too often the consequence is a very diffused person. (O'Brien, 1988, p. 3)

The unwritten obligation that minority faculty must mentor minority students can cause the added dilemma of an artificial relationship, particularly when the minority faculty member does not identify with minority issues or concerns or simply has dissimilar interests (O'Brien, 1988).

Palmer of Cornell University may represent an ideal; minority concerns permeate his work. "It's inside of me. I'm always asking, 'How might this program be designed to help these students - Blacks, Hispanics and other underrepresented minorities?' And I want to get the whole university working on this" (O'Brien, 1988, p.4).

Ronald Walters, President of the National Congress of Black Faculty, hopes this organization can make a difference in the status of Black faculty in higher education. They recently released a series of recommendations for young Black faculty entering an institution:

- understand clearly the criteria for promotion and tenure.
- ask if the university will credit extra work involving counseling and advising students. Ask for the credit toward tenure, but don't turn away because the response is negative. Learn to allocate time for students and tenure track necessities.
- be sensitive to the availability of facilities necessary for research.
- adopt an aggressive leadership in recruiting and retaining both Black faculty and students.
- be selective about journals to which articles are submitted. (Burch, 1988, p.12)

Hawkins addresses the transition from a minority focused position to a line position within higher education. He discusses the fact that a number of minority professionals on White campuses start in minority affairs, minority support programs or special services, which tend to be in positions outside of the mainstream institution. He further states "When I first started working in special programs, I was advised that I should consider working only three to four years in the area, if I had plans to move in other professional areas" (Hawkins, 1988, p.14).

This statement supports the perception that the work minority faculty do in "minority positions" is less creditable or less academic in nature. In order for faculty to make the transition into "non-minority" job areas,

Hawkins recommends "implementing a career goal plan to assist in making the transition into other areas. It is important to plug into a local, state and a national networking system. Also of great importance is to establish a network among faculty that's supportive of one's career aspirations" (Hawkins, 1988, p.14).

"Cross-racial Collegiality: Trouble in Academe" discusses the lack of a harmonious Black and White faculty environment. Black professors who were actively recruited to teach on White campuses in the sixties have now been on these campuses for about twenty years.

In general those who remain have yet to achieve real collegiality with their White cohorts, the majority of whom react to them with varying degrees of fear, indifference, misunderstanding and uneasiness... Recruitment of more Black professors is an obvious solution to the isolation and alienation often felt by Black scholars. Hiring Blacks for key administrative positions would go a long way toward promoting real collegiality. Mainly because Black administrators generally strive to treat people equally, regardless of race, and thereby set a positive example to others. (Vontress & Jackson, 1988, p. 84)

Vontress and Jackson also recommend that colleges institute race relations training.

In "Being a Black Faculty Member on a White Campus: My Reality", Aretha Butler Pigferd of University of South Carolina offers some words of advice to Black educators contemplating teaching on White campuses:

- You will be placed in the spotlight; bask in it.
- You will have more responsibilities than many of your White colleagues; juggle them as well as you can.
- Your competence will be questioned.
- You will have the opportunity to help other

- minorities: help them.
- You may experience external and internal conflict; resolve it.
 - Some people will expect you to make all problems racial; disappoint them.
- (Pigferd, 1988, p.70)

A common theme throughout the relevant literature is the need for a real institutional commitment to achieve fundamental change. Johnson and Clarke state, "It is the role of the university to sensitize faculty to ethnic diversity, and if it is sincere about developing an educational climate that supports and reinforces the learning process, then it has the responsibility to modify attitudes and expectations" (Johnson and Clarke, 1989, p.24).

The experiences of Black faculty and administrators are a sad testament to the fact that there has been little significant change over the past 150 years.

Black Professionals in Corporate America

We turn now to a focussed review of literature dealing with Black professionals in corporate America. The researcher wishes to demonstrate any similarities and differences of Blacks in corporate America with the experiences of Black administrators at predominantly White institutions of higher education.

The existence of Black Americans in corporate America's mainstream is a fairly recent phenomenon. In the mid to late 1940's corporate America began to admit Blacks into

mainstream positions. In New York the Ives-Quinn Law of July 1945 set up a New York state commission which forced companies in New York not to discriminate based on race, color, or creed. (Davis and Watson, 1982).

The following are excerpts from interviews conducted by Davis and Watson for their book entitled, Black Life in Corporate America.

"It was very different when I came in," said the man who had been pointed out as a grand old Black man of the corporate mainstream. "Back then (1947) you could go for days in these places without seeing anyone Black, except the messengers and the janitors.... I couldn't exactly say I was a manager because I didn't manage anything or anybody. I was a Special Assistant to the Chairman." (Davis and Watson, 1982, p. 17)

He goes on to discuss his position as one of being a token.

"You have no idea how different it was back then. You yourself representing the company on so many occasions that were outside your area of expertise. I'm an accountant by training. Whenever they needed a Black face for a particular gathering, they would come and get me. I'm sure this made it impossible for my supervisor to take me seriously as a member of his department." (Davis and Watson, 1982, p.17)

Another elder statesman of Davis and Watson's study states:

"Your pride in yourself made you work harder," the special markets veep said. "You worked harder because you were more visible. You knew you were being watched and so you tended to perform better....

You wanted to show these White guys that you were just as good as they were.... Today there are a lot of Black guys and gals coming in, but still in most cases they have to be a

little better if they hope to make it....
 The company doesn't expect most of them to make it. That's why they aren't given significant job - jobs that are going to lead to the power positions in the company. That's why there are such a cluster of them in personnel departments and public affairs departments in these companies."
 (Davis and Watson, 1982, p. 19)

Steven M. Gelber wrote in his book Black Men and Businessmen that "Employers sought and frequently found overqualified Black applicants for managerial positions." He further states that there was an "unwritten mandate for companies to hire Negroes who were as unnegro as the White recruiters." (Gelber, 1974, p.20) These Black managers would be hired for decorative rather than functional purposes; their positions were clearly powerless. "The problem, however was not so much that they were not promoted, but that they were not given jobs in the mainline of the company's business in the first place. They were, in most cases, the first residents of the Velvet Ghetto."
 (Davis and Watson, 1982, p. 20)

Edward W. James, Jr. writes about what it is like to be a Black manager, "He cites his own experience in a large company to illustrate the type of lonely struggle that faces a Black man." He states "Equal job opportunity is more than putting a Black man in a White man's job." (Jones, 1973, p. 108) A major point in Jones' article is his discussion of the informal organization within the organization.

One of the phenomena that develops in every corporation is a set of behavioral and personal norms that facilitates communication and aids cohesiveness.... While this informal organization is built on White norms, it operates at all

levels in a corporation, and the norms become more rigid the higher one goes in the hierarchy. While this phenomenon promotes efficiency and unity, it is also restrictive and very selective. It can preclude promotion or lead to failure on the basis of 'fit' rather than competence. (Jones, 1973, p. 114)

Barnard discussed the issue of the informal organization by addressing the question of one's fitness: This question of fitness involves such matters as education, experience, age, sex, personal distinctions, prestige, race, nationality, and faith." (Barnard, 1938, p. 224)

Jones stated, based on his experience, that he did not fit his company within his position. "I was out of the place normally filled by Black people in the company; and since no Black person had preceded me successfully, it was easy for my antagonists to believe I was inadequate." (Jones, 1973, p. 114)

Jones identified five elements as being vital in the process of addressing the informal organization and how one fits within as a Black manager. They are as follows:

- Unquestionable top management involvement and commitment....
- Direct two-way channels of communication between top management and Black trainees....
- Appraisal of managers on their contributions to the company's equal opportunity objectives....
- Avoid temptation to create special showcase - Black jobs....
- Select assignments for the new Black manager which are challenging, yet don't in themselves increase his chances of failure.

These basic steps need not be of a permanent nature, but they should be enacted until such time as the organizational norms accept Blacks at all levels and in all types of jobs. (Jones, 1973, p. 115)

In another article written by Jones thirteen years later in 1986 he found Black managers in larger numbers than ever in corporate America, but equity and equality for Blacks and other minorities as well as women had not yet been achieved. He states, "I hear expressions of disappointment, dismay, frustration, and anger because they have not gained acceptance on a par with their White peers. They feel, at best, tolerated: they often feel ignored." (Jones, 1986, p. 84)

The data base for Jones' latest article includes interviews and questions completed by Blacks, Whites, and other minorities, men and women, top level executives earning more than \$100,000 per year. The total number of participants was approximately 300 people.

Jones quotes concerns raised by several Black top executives, stating that these are typical statements made by Black managers in private.

"There was strong emphasis in the seventies for getting the right numbers of Black managers. But now we're stagnating, as if the motivation was to get numbers, not create opportunities. I get the sense that companies have the numbers they think they need and now don't think anything more needs doing. Some companies are substituting numbers that represent the progress of White women and camouflaging and ignoring the lack of progress for Black managers altogether. Many companies hired aggressive, self-motivated, high achieving Blacks who are now feeling deep frustration. Some have left, others stay but are fed up. Some can take more pain, others just throw up their hands and say to hell with it."

"I went into corporate America to shoot for the top, just like my White classmates at business school. But the corporate expectation seemed to be that as a Black I should accept something that satisfied some

other need. Corporations are saying, 'We want you to be just a number in a seat representing a particular program. Stay in your place.'"

"We can have all the credentials in the world, but that doesn't qualify us in the minds of many White people."

The myth is that companies are color-blind. "We don't tolerate discrimination of any kind, and we've instituted procedures to make that a fact," is a typical comment by a White executive. More accurately, discrimination is ever present but a taboo topic - for Blacks as well as Whites. If you want to move up, you don't talk about it. (Jones, 1986, p. 85)

Also in this study Jones listed 15 words and phrases that describe the climate for Black managers in corporate America. In his survey he asked respondents to select those that best describe the organizational climate for Black managers. The top seven responses in order are: Indifferent, Patronizing, Reluctant to accept Blacks, Encouraging, Psychologically unhealthy, Unfulfilling, and Whites are resentful." The lowest ranked response was "Trusting of Blacks." (Jones, 1986, p. 86)

Jones talks about the Balancing Act:

Most Black managers feel that to satisfy the values and expectations of the White corporate hierarchy they must run a gauntlet of contradictory pressures....

Being accepted as a leader for Whites and not being seen as a Uncle Tom by Blacks.... (Jones, 1986, pp. 91-92)

A psychiatrist informed Jones that: "Those Black managers in the potentially greatest psychological trouble are the ones who try to deny their ethnicity by trying to be least Black - in effect, trying to be White psychologically." (Jones, 1986, p. 92)

The following comments are the words of a Black woman who is tired of the combined burden of being Black in America and middle class. Leanita McClain was an award winning journalist and the first Black to become a member of the Chicago Tribune's editorial board. She writes in Newsweek, October 13, 1980 of her life experiences:

I have heard the immigrants' bootstrap tales, the simplistic reproach of "Why can't you people be like us?" I have fulfilled the entry requirements of the American middle class, yet I am left, at times, feeling unwelcome and stereotyped.... Life is easier, being Black is not.

I am burdened daily with showing Whites that Blacks are people. I am, in the old vernacular, a credit to my race. I am my brother's keeper, and sisters', though many of them have abandoned me because they think that I have abandoned them.

I run a gauntlet between two worlds, and I am cursed and blessed by both.... If I am a token in my downtown office, so am I at my cousin's church tea....

I have made it, but where? (McClain, 1980, p. 21)

McClain's question and comments go far beyond the walls of corporate America and the academy, they are words that all of society needs to address. McClain, tired of fighting and trying to balance, killed herself on May 29, 1984.

· (Campbell, 1984)

Summary

The review of the literature includes an overview of material related to Black professionals in higher education and corporate America.

The majority of studies in higher education used a survey methodology involving mail-in questionnaires (Exum, 1983; Mommsen, 1974; Astin et. al., 1982). Willie (1984) and Sizemore (1984) derived their data from case studies while many others wrote position papers on their topics (Hawkins, 1988; Vontress & Jackson, 1988; Pigferd, 1988). Very few studies have been done using in-depth interviewing as a means of collecting data. As stated previously this method of data collection offers the researcher valuable insights into the interviewee's interpretation of his or her experiences rather than the researcher's interpretation of those experiences. Only Sinegar (1987) and Seidman (1985) used in-depth interviewing; Moore and Wagstaff (1974) relied primarily on questionnaires to gather their data; however they did conduct a small number of interviews.

There are a number of themes that emerge from the literature detailing the experiences of Black professionals at predominantly White institutions of higher education. They are as follows:

- Feelings of social and cultural isolation
- Feelings of alienation
- The burden of extra responsibilities outside the job description
- The preponderance of Black educators not in the administrative mainstream
- The need for Black educators to continue mentoring, counseling and striving for fundamental change

- (i.e. curriculum, senior administrative positions, increased faculty and administrators) which can lead to societal change.
- Lack of institutional commitment to fundamental changes in its adherence to a monocultural perspective, versus valuing a multicultural orientation.
 - The failure of institutions of higher education to lead society in the area of human equity; rather, they have continued to mimic the ills of society.

Issues and concerns expressed by Black administrators in particular include:

- Blacks in White institutions are outsiders to the circles of power, which diminishes their effectiveness to get work done.
- As a senior Black administrator, the person usually becomes the chief Black spokesperson and mentor for both faculty and lower level administrators.
- The practice in hiring of giving the benefit of doubt to the Black candidate.
- The observation that current campus environments are not hospitable, and that Blacks are typically isolated and alienated.
- The strong desire for the development of an open and equitable environment for Black administrators.

- The necessity for Blacks to advocate strongly for greater Black hiring.
- The need for institutions to develop effective strategies for hiring and be held accountable for their hiring practices.
- The recognition that Black administrators must continue to serve multiple constituencies.
- The need for more Blacks in senior administrative positions and as department heads.
- The observation that Blacks experience a lack of autonomy and respect within administrative positions.
- The recognition of their distrust of White colleagues.

The experiences of Blacks in corporate America have been quite similar to those of Black administrators and faculty at predominantly White colleges and universities, but over a significantly shorter time period. The research data reported was collected through interviews (Davis & Watson, 1982; Jones, 1973) and survey questionnaires (Jones, 1973, 1986). None of the studies surveyed used in-depth interviewing. Results of these studies indicated a number of similar findings between the experiences of Blacks in corporate America and higher education:

- Both groups experience the tension of having to balance being Black and working in a White world.

- The institutional organizations of higher education and corporate America have positions that can be classified as "minority focussed" i.e. personnel, external affairs, or special projects, minority affairs.
- Both organizations have lower expectations for Blacks than Whites and the perception continues that Blacks must outperform White males to be seen as equal.
- The impetus for hiring Blacks in higher education and corporate America were the result of external forces (i.e. court decisions, political pressure) although internal pressure in the form of college student protests contributed to hiring changes on predominantly White campuses.
- Participants in both arenas agree that there is a need to have Blacks at all levels of the hierarchy and throughout the mainstream of the organization.
- Researchers reported a common recommendation that top administrators and executives hold their managers accountable and actively lead their institutions/organizations towards greater equality.

The experiences of Black professionals in corporate America and higher education as reported in the review of the literature suggest a similar truth: neither corporate America nor predominantly White institutions of higher

education have created a hospitable environment for their Black employees. Although the data outlines the broad parameters of their experiences, it does not provide an in-depth understanding of the actual experiences. This study attempts to add to our knowledge base in this area.

CHAPTER 3

DESIGN OF THE STUDY

Introduction

The purpose of this qualitative research study is to further our understanding of the phenomena of Black male administrators in White academia. Data was collected through in-depth interviews in which these administrators were allowed an opportunity to elaborate on their experiences and perceptions of their world of work.

Interview Procedure

The discussion of the interview procedure is presented in four sections: Overview of In-depth Interviewing, Assumptions Related to In-depth Interviewing, Interviewing Procedures, and Point of View.

Overview of in-depth interviewing.

The main focus of in-depth interviewing is an interest in understanding the experiences of the interviewee. For the specific purpose of this study, an in-depth interviewing process that utilizes a phenomenological approach to data collection has been used. In-depth phenomenological interviewing is a variant form of in-depth interviewing and although very similar to other forms of in-depth

interviewing, it has a specific focus. The focus of in-depth phenomenological interviewing is to have participants reconstruct their experiences and reflect on the meaning they make of those experiences. It attempts to go beyond facts and events to the subjective meaning of these experiences. Making meaning of experience utilizes interpretations, associations, and emotional responses which the person has brought to those experiences. Through the careful use of in-depth phenomenological interviewing the researcher has explored those experiences which have contributed significantly to the meaning Black male administrators make of their work in White higher education.

The interview format used in this study was developed by Seidman (1985). Seidman's interviewing format was suggested by the work of Dobeare and Schuman (Schuman, 1982). The theoretical underpinning behind phenomenological interviewing is that a person can make meaning of his or her experience by reflecting upon the aggregate of that experience. This theory was put forth by Schutz (1967).

Seidman states:

It is not the purpose of phenomenological interviewing to get answers to questions, to test hypotheses, or to "evaluate" as the term is normally used. At the root of in-depth phenomenological interviewing is an interest in understanding the experience of other people and the meaning they make of that experience rather than in being able to predict or control the experience. (Seidman, 1985, p. 15)

The researcher is interested in understanding the nature of the experience of Black male administrators in predominantly White colleges and universities. One way to understand the work situation of these individuals is through a better understanding of their interpretations of their experiences. Becker and Geer (1969) offered a comparison between participant observation and in-depth interviewing. They found that the meaning that people make of their experiences is much more relevant to understanding those experiences than when only the researcher makes meaning of the participants' experiences, as is the case with participant observation studies. It is therefore assumed that the best way to understand the work situation is to understand the experiences of Black male administrators in White higher education and the best way to understand those experiences is to understand the meaning these individuals make of those experiences.

Although experimental research attempts to objectify the relationship between the researcher and the object of the research itself in order to protect the study from the threats to validity (Campbell and Stanley 1963), phenomenological research does not attempt to objectify the relationship between the researcher and the participant. Within in-depth phenomenological interviewing the people who are interviewed are neither subjects nor objects of the research. By the very nature of the process, both the interviewer and interviewee are researcher and participant.

In this study, the interviewing process does not focus upon getting "answers." The process does not examine scientific assumptions; the purpose of the in-depth phenomenological interview process is to explore experiences which may have significantly influenced the meaning that people make of their experiences.

Assumptions related to in-depth interviewing.

Several assumptions have already been addressed in the previous section: First, a person can make meaning of his or her experience by reflecting upon that experience; second, that meaning is a reconstructive process in which the participant recounts and then reflects on his or her experiences. Third, the researcher and participant in the study share a subject-subject relationship. The data collected is in some respects a shared document. In that the interviewer is present at the time of the interview and later interprets the data collected, the interviewer will affect the subjects' responses to some degree. There can be no "pure" or "objective" findings. Finally, the goal of the interviewing process is not to obtain specific answers or to test hypotheses. Other assumptions made by this methodological approach include the following:

- Although the role of the interviewer is recognized, a goal in conducting the research is to minimize the interviewer's impact.

- In-depth interviewing allows the participant to include both subjective and objective (rational) reflections in the meaning-making process.

- In-depth interviewing strives to be democratic; equity between the interviewer and interviewee is a goal of the process. Therefore, the researcher uses the words of the participant to make sense of the findings.

Interviewing procedures.

To accomplish the purpose of this study the researcher has conducted a series of in-depth phenomenological interviews with a sample of 10 Black male administrators at four-year predominantly White institutions of higher education. The in-depth phenomenological interview procedure utilized within this study required three ninety-minute interviews with each of the participants. Each participant was interviewed a total of four and one-half hours. The entire study totaled 45 hours of interviews. All of the interviews were audio-taped, an essential part of the interviewing process. The audio-tape allowed the researcher to concentrate on what was being said and the process of interviewing, rather than trying to write everything down. In addition, taping provided a complete record of the conversation.

Each of the three interviews had a distinct purpose and focus. Interview One concentrated on the life of the participants before they began work in their current

position. The researcher asked the participants to reconstruct experiences such as childhood, family, schooling, and previous work experiences. The intent was to have the participants go back as far as possible in their life, in order to understand the events that assisted in shaping their career choices.

The second interview focused on what it was like to be a Black male administrator working at predominantly White colleges or universities. Participants were asked to reconstruct as much as possible the specific details of how they spend their time and energy in carrying out their work. The purpose of this interview was to recreate aspects of the participants' current experiences in order to better understand the constitutive and substantive particulars of the participants' work.

The third interview built on the framework set forth by the first and second interviews. The coming together of the first interview's "exploring the past" with the second interview's clear details of the present created a healthy environment for the third interview where participants reflected and made meaning of their world of work.

Given the material that will surface from the first two interviews, participants were asked to reflect on how they understand the place of their work within their lives. Here the researcher asked the participants for their interpretation of their work experiences; for example: "Based on what you have told me during the past two

interviews, how would you interpret your work experiences within your life? From a professional perspective and from a personal 'life-experience' perspective?"

Although each of the three interviews in the series had a specific purpose and focus, within each interview the interviewing style was open-ended. Also since there was no set of pre-established questions to which the researcher sought answers nor a set of hypotheses to be tested, the role of the interviewer was therefore to facilitate the participant's interpretation of his experiences. Along those lines the interviewer asked questions that elicited clarification and elaboration, such as: "You mentioned networking. Could you elaborate on what networking means to you?" Moreover, the extensive time allotment for the interviews (three 90-minute interviews) provided ample time to obtain detailed and contextually rich data.

Point of view.

In doing qualitative research, the researcher has the responsibility to "define" his or her personal reality as it relates to the subject matter. This researcher brought to the study certain insights. These insights are based on the emergent themes found in the relevant review of the literature, the profiles of participants in the pilot study and the themes presented as well as the experiences of the researcher as a Black male administrator at a predominantly White institution of higher education.

These insights include the following:

- The experiences of Black male administrators at predominantly White institutions have been one of isolation, and, for the most part, have not been positive.
- When the senior-most officer of the institution has been Black, regardless of where he has been located, the situation has appeared to be more productive.
- The declining numbers of Black male administrators makes it problematic that there will be a decrease in the number of senior Black male administrators.
- Where there are greater numbers of Black administrators, it is because these administrators are part of minority-focussed programs.
- Black administrators are not in positions of power and authority.
- Finally, the data collected was influenced by the ethnicity and gender of the researcher and the process by which participants became involved in the study.

Pilot Study

The researcher conducted a pilot study, as indicated earlier, to better understand the experiences of Black professionals at predominantly White institutions of higher education. This study was undertaken as part of the comprehensive examination requirements of the researcher's doctoral program.

The method of in-depth phenomenological interviewing was used to collect the data from three participants. This method emphasizes the importance of having the participants reconstruct their work experience and reflect on its significance. The three participants for the study were chosen from outside the researcher's place of work and outside the institution where the researcher was studying. Of the three participants, one was a female Black administrator, one a male Black administrator, and one a Black male faculty member. All three participants had no previous contact with the researcher; they were referrals from colleagues of the researcher.

The researcher found that the emerging themes in this study were consistent with the existing literature on the experiences of Black professionals at predominantly White colleges and universities. Each participant expressed a sense of loyalty and commitment to the Black community as a whole and to the ideals of higher education as well, but at the same time they sent a loud and clear message that they were experiencing serious problems which undermined their work and their institutions' effectiveness.

Through the process of in-depth phenomenological interviewing a framework for data collection was established; the methodology requires the interviewer to use his or her own analytic skills to identify relevant data and then synthesize it into a profile or excerpt.

Participants

The participants for the proposed study were Black male administrators at predominantly White four-year institutions of higher education. Two criteria for participation were that participants must be a full-time administrator at a predominantly White college or university, and be at a rank of director or higher.

The researcher selected participants from a list generated from two sources: 1. the roster of The Council of Minority Educators, and 2. colleague referrals. From the resources a list of 10 individuals was randomly selected from each source.

A written informed consent form was developed to ensure adequate protection of the rights and welfare of the participants (see Appendix). Ten participants were interviewed.

Access

The participants were contacted by telephone. The researcher introduced himself, explained the focus of the study, and asked the administrator if he would be interested in participating. After agreeing to be a participant, a first interview was scheduled. Participants were immediately sent a copy of the consent-to-participate form for their review.

Working with the Data

All participants were interviewed three times for 90 minutes duration for a total of four and one-half hours. Each of the three interviews were transcribed verbatim in order to maintain accuracy of the participants. These transcripts, in their complete unedited form were the primary source of data for analysis. To do justice to the data the researcher presented the material in two ways: first, as profiles of Black male administrators at predominantly White four-year institutions of higher education and their work experiences in their own words; and second, as important themes that connect these individuals' experiences and as they relate to the body of literature presented in this study. The themes were also analyzed by comparing the profiles of senior administrators (those who report to the President or Chancellor) and junior administrators (those who report to the Vice-President or Deans) as well as administrators who have institutional responsibilities versus those who have minority-focussed responsibilities.

Profiles were constructed almost totally in the words of the participants. An independent outside reviewer read the entire transcripts as well as the profiles generated by the researcher for verification of data. This same person checked for unclear passages and suggested revisions or omissions. The final version was completed by the

researcher. The profiles served as a re-creation of the experiences of the participants in their own words. An assumption was made that the words of the participants were representative of many aspects of their work lives and provided a pathway to understanding the meaning they make of their work.

The criteria for selecting data is as follows:

1. Is the material fair to the participant?
2. Does the material preserve the participants' dignity.
3. Is the material selected for the profiles or for quotation an accurate reflection of the interview as a whole? (Seidman, 1985, p. 24)

Summary

This study attempted to provide a greater understanding of the experiences of Black male administrators at predominantly White institutions of higher education. In-depth phenomenological interviewing provides a rich content from which to develop themes and patterns of experience. It is hoped that through the retelling of their experiences and the meaning they make of these experiences that we can better understand and appreciate the "realities" of Black male administrators.

CHAPTER 4

REPORTING OF THE RESULTS

Introduction

This chapter presents data from the interviewing process in two sections: first, as summarized narratives of the ten participants. These synopses are edited to present a brief summary of the professional experiences as described by the participants at four-year predominantly White institutions of higher education and the meaning they make of those experiences.

The second section of this chapter is a presentation of the common themes for Black male administrators who participated in this study. Particular themes for senior Black administrators, junior and senior Black administrators, and Black administrators in minority focussed positions are also presented. Each common theme is presented first as a general topic or category followed by specific themes.

Profile Synopses

The synopses generate compelling material. In these narratives, the work experiences of Black male administrators at predominantly White four-year institutions of higher education are highlighted. Each synopsis offers

a distinct view of how these individuals make meaning of the complexities of being a Black administrator at a predominantly White institution of higher education.

The synopses provide clarity and insight into the experiences of these Black administrators when viewed as a whole. Other Black male administrators at predominantly White institutions of higher education may be able to relate their own experiences to those presented. Hopefully as a result, other Black male administrators as well as chief administrative officers at predominantly White institutions of higher education will obtain insight, understanding, and a willingness to undertake the appropriate actions for changes that will significantly improve the plight of Black male administrators in the academy.

Appendices A-J provide an edited transcript of participants' profiles. In these profiles they detail their work experiences and the many concerns, issues, perceptions, and feelings that influence the way in which they function as administrators.

Profile Synopsis #1: V.

V. is presently President of a public university. He has worked for approximately 18 years at predominantly White institutions of higher education. His highest degree earned is a doctorate.

Early on in his career V. was concerned about becoming pigeon-holed into minority programs. He was able to find

different positions relatively easily and felt that his supervisors were very supportive. They trusted him, gave him responsibility and authority which allowed him to develop the career experiences he needed for upward mobility. He describes himself as a perfectionist and an overachiever. Any time he took a new job he would go back and read anything that had been written over the past ten years. According to V. his favorite four-letter word is "work".

Although he was able to develop good working relationships with co-workers and staff, he describes the work atmosphere as being "lonely"; as Kermit the frog says 'it's not easy being green.'" Similarly it isn't easy being Black at a predominantly White institution. People are always ready to challenge him and he can never forget that he has an audience. Relaxing is difficult and over time the job has taken its toll on him and his family.

V. takes great joy in his work. One of his greatest satisfactions has been the opportunity to do things for Blacks, Hispanics and women. Mentoring has played a key role in his life both in terms of the mentoring he has received as well as the mentoring role he has assumed. V.'s wife and his relationships with various Black faculty and administrators have constituted a primary support network.

V. expressed concern over the perception of the Black community of him and his work. He has not wanted to be seen as "an Uncle Tom" or as having sold out to the White system.

He feels that he hasn't always been able to let Black subordinates and/or the Black community know everything that was happening either in terms of benefits down the road to the community or times when he wasn't one hundred per cent behind an institutional policy.

Working at a predominantly White institution is like being in a "fishbowl." According to V., Whites use a different standard with which to judge Blacks. Blacks need to be a super horse in order to be seen as equal to White males. Whites perceive a Black person as being unfair if they advocate for Blacks; while they have no problems advocating for other Whites. Nevertheless V. states that it is important for Blacks to have good working relationships with Whites.

In retrospect V. feels it is important to keep a sense of who you are and where you come from. V. takes great pride in his Black heritage and says he wouldn't "trade it for the world." A person must understand the system in order to change it. He believes that (White) America has not yet faced the "duality" that they put Blacks in. One day V. hopes to work at an all Black school; in part, to find out whether he is "as good as they (Whites) say I am" as well as to be able to say he had given something in "both worlds." "The essence of living is giving."

Profile Synopsis #2: D.

D. is presently Associate Vice President for Student Affairs at a public university. He has worked at predominantly White institutions of higher education for the past 21 years. His highest degree earned is a doctorate.

D. has been at the same institution for 21 years. It was never his intention to remain, but he was somewhat satisfied with the work he was able to do and then when he was ready to make a move realized that the timing was not good. He wanted to be able to spend at least ten years at a new institution and there just wasn't that much career time left. In addition some of the positions that he was offered (i.e. President of a small campus) paid less money than he was presently making.

He has enjoyed his work, in particular his work with Black students. It has been a good experience; however he is left with some bitter feelings. At times people have worked against his promotions. He summarizes his experiences saying "I have scars, and I have given scars." He has not felt much support from supervisors; in fact, at times he has seen his immediate supervisor "trying to shaft me."

He states that "racism exists" at the institution. While there are "some good people here, they are not the ones in control." Much of his work has felt like an uphill battle. Some Whites wanted to use him to recruit Black students, not a part of his job description; however he then

would try to use this as an opportunity to develop his programs. He was asked to apply for a vice-presidency where unbeknownst to him the request was made so that affirmative action requirements would be fulfilled. This information was told to him by one of his former White employees who was on the search committee. In general he states that the system (i.e. the institution) does not promote vocal Black men who work within the system, but are not afraid of it. He believes that the institution's incorrect perception that he helped to organize a sit-in hurt his career. (In fact, students had deliberately kept him unaware of their intentions.)

Within this environment D. has tried to do what is best for students and the institution even to the extent of supporting his supervisor who he felt was undermining his work. His approach has been to do the job or quit, but not to fight internally.

His mentor, a Black professor, advised him to obtain faculty tenure before moving into administration. To this day he regrets not having followed this advice. Finally, he has enjoyed being a mentor for Black and Hispanic students and other Black professionals. He takes pride in being the only Black in management to be invited to be part of a Black employees association.

Throughout his career, D. has "tried to help" and has hired as many Blacks as possible. He believes that Blacks need to be in top positions in higher education to serve as

role models. Maintaining one's sense of Blackness is critical; "I am not less Black because I live in a White community." He advises other Blacks to "know what's going on" (i.e. the institution) and "to keep voicing your opinion - some of it will wear off." It's important to "give it your best"; he's not ready to quit fighting even after he retires in a few months.

Profile Synopsis #3: L.

L. is a Dean of Students at a private college. He has been working at predominantly White institutions of higher education for the past 13 years. His highest degree earned is a masters.

L. expressed concern that a person in minority focussed positions does not get promotions. There are negative consequences of dealing with "minority issues." He has felt fortunate in being recruited for several jobs; however, in the workplace there has always been the perception that the reason he was hired was because he was Black. There is a constant need to prove oneself. People were angry when he put on a really successful program; "people tried to dismantle my power." He finds having a number of Blacks in the systems helps a person survive; when there are fewer numbers "it gets exhausting." His first year and a half at his most recent institution has felt like "being in a fish bowl." Everyone has wanted to see how he operates and specifically how he would treat Blacks, women and other

groups on campus. Would he cater to these groups or would he "be equitable?" Whites always approach a Black male on the basis of his being first, Black, second, male and finally his name. White women may be the only ones who may have some insight into this phenomenon.

On the whole this institution is "embracing"; it perceives itself as being "politically correct" and therefore racism is subtle and has emerged around "his age." Also he has taken it upon himself to raise the consciousness of co-workers and staff around issues of racism from having them "clean up brochures developed for recruitment" as well as advising the institution on how to deal with students of color. He wants to send a clear message to the institution as well as the trustees that he is committed to diversity training for staff and students.

He has been able to persuade his boss that the institution needs to hire more people of color and she has been supportive. He takes great satisfaction that in his most recent position he has had a great opportunity, "a professional's dream", to set up his division.

Mentoring has played an important role in his life. Three significant mentors have been Black administrators and faculty who allowed him to come and vent his job frustrations. His mother and father have also provided support. At this point he enjoys the role of mentoring for Black professionals and students and would like to start a

Black professional men's group as a vehicle for sharing, venting and connecting with one another.

L. was concerned that sometimes Blacks believe that once a Black person accepts a position they become the position and are no longer Black. One of the most difficult tasks in his career was having to "let go" another Black employee. It was difficult because first, the employee had been hired for a position that didn't match his background and he had not been supported while he was in the position, and second, because the Black community had questioned his decision to release the man.

In summary L. sees Blacks at predominantly White institutions as "surviving and thriving", but there is always "that extra burden." "I wish I could remove this piece from my daily work." L. questions how good he is as an administrator and within that question he wonders if maybe one way to "remove this burden" is to go and work at an all Black college. Education is important and it is also important to "know yourself." He also feels the need to pursue a doctorate or law degree.

Profile Synopsis #4: K.

K. has been Director of Public Safety at a predominantly White private university for 16 years. His highest degree earned is a bachelors.

K. believes that he got his jobs because he was in the right place at the right time. He is pleased with his

accomplishments, feels confident of his abilities and feels that he has achieved on merit. Basically he has had good dealings with his supervisors; however, he did have to overcome "an obstacle" with the Dean of Students who had wanted someone else to get his job. This Dean attempted to sabotage some of K.'s efforts; fortunately he was not successful.

When he first started working at the institution he did not know who he could trust. He was lonely and "built walls"; however, over time he did find some people, White women, with whom he felt comfortable. He felt that the reason for the connection with White women was due to some common experiences. Nevertheless he still can't "talk about what's important to me"; for example, things that are happening in the neighborhood. K. states that everyone knows that "you're different"; what makes it less lonely now is that there are more Blacks - "one or two per building."

K. advises against "alarming Whites that you are doing something as a cause." One needs to maintain a serious attitude. It is not necessary to be "buddy-buddy"; nor does one need one's actions to be "Tom" or "Sunshine" motivated. It is important to learn to communicate with Whites. "You don't have to pound your fist, but work with the people." "Whites can be compassionate, and you don't have to stoop. Sometimes it is necessary to show your wrath, but not consistently."

Over time K. feels that he has come to be accepted for who he is. The institution has asked him to sit on several college-wide and search committees. "I am asked to advise on many issues not just about Black people." On his own he has responded to a need to "wear many hats": he has been a counselor to many Black students and a mentor to many of the Black employees. He was a contributor to the institution's developing a academic support program. His support has come from his wife, in-laws, friends, fraternity brothers and by maintaining his residence in the Black community.

In conclusion K. wants to be himself. "Take me as I am." He is very proud of his Black heritage and has been significantly influenced by Martin Luther King, Jr. Sometimes doubts creep in - "Can I handle it?" The bottom line is not to become arrogant and to stay connected to the Black community.

Profile Synopsis# 5: H.

H. is Director of Minority Affairs at a private college. He has 15 years of experience at predominantly White institutions of higher education. His highest degree earned is a masters.

H. has felt pigeonholed professionally. He has not been able to get the promotions he feels he has earned although he feels he has been placated with additional monies. He perceives that the reason he has not been able to get promoted is because he "couldn't be trusted." His

supervisor told him that he was too much of a flag waver for students - too "anti" - and that he should always side with the administration. One of the criteria that was used to demonstrate that he couldn't be doing his job was that there were too many students in his office. H. has not felt supported by his supervisors. There has been a subtle form of racism operating to keep him in his place.

H. characterizes his fellow workers in the admissions office as "boring, racist, sexist people" who made such statements as "You'll never be fired" and "Don't bring in too many Blacks - what do you want them to do, take over the school?" He sensed that no matter how successful he was in non-minority areas, his colleagues and the institution at-large saw him only operating within the context of minority affairs. The institution views him as the "Black expert." He has enjoyed this role because it has given him greater flexibility. He has also been asked to serve on a number of committees dealing with the community.

H. has felt like a loner who does not feel like he belongs at the institution. The expectation is that he exert greater effort than the average White male is required to demonstrate to show competence. He does not feel connected to other professionals on campus except for a couple of Black professionals and one White faculty member. For the most part, H. has felt ignored; some folks have appreciated his work, but this information has come to him through secondhand sources. People off campus have

appreciated him more than his on campus colleagues and supervisors.

When a new President came to the institution, H. saw this as an opportunity to promote his ideas and career. His old supervisor had become a vice-president and he knew that his new supervisor was controlled by this person. He, therefore, knew that in order to meet with the President he would need to find a different channel of access. He made contact with a Black alumnus who was also a community leader. Through this contact he was invited with the Black alumnus to a meeting with the President. He made a preliminary proposal to resurrect the position Director of Minority Affairs to which he later was promoted.

Throughout his career, H. has been very involved with students. He sees his strength in being able to counsel students - both Black and White - on a one-to-one basis. It has been "my calling." Within a continued context of friction and lack of trust, he has been able to do more in his current position than he was able to do previously.

In reflecting upon his career experiences, H. concludes that it is time to start advocating for oneself. He has always tried to do what's right and says he will continue to "function as a team player" by helping students, minority students in particular, to graduate. He wants to continue to grow and sees the need to obtain a doctorate. He feels that this interview process has "stirred up a lot" of issues regarding his experiences at this institution.

Profile Synopsis # 6: O.

O. is currently Director of Multicultural Affairs at a private college. He has spent 17 years working at predominantly White institutions of higher education. He holds a doctorate degree.

O. felt good about the atmosphere at the first institution where he worked. He attributed this to the president of the campus being Black, because as a result, people seemed to be more tolerant. He also felt that this gave Blacks a sense of empowerment. Under this president the number of Black administrators and faculty increased. Life was "more comfortable" even though issues of racism still existed. At his present institution he cites a long standing "good relationship" between Blacks and Jesuits; however, the numbers of Blacks are too few and there is not an adequate support group working. The institution continues to perceive O. as "the expert" on Black issues. There is the constant tension of feeling as if one has to serve two masters: one, the administrators and two, the students. It's lonely working in a "sea of whiteness" and there is a sense of "alienation and isolation." O. does not feel that Whites understand in a visceral way what it means to be Black.

The institution has supported the establishment of a strong multicultural student program; this support has come from the highest levels and has been backed with money. At

present the Office of Multicultural Affairs reports to the Vice President of Student Affairs; O. believes that the program would be better served if he reported to the Vice President of Academic Affairs. The faculty remain less invested in the program and O. suggests that there ought to be ongoing staff development workshops.

The opportunity to develop his program at this institution is "like being in heaven." He takes great satisfaction in developing what he considers to be one of the best programs of retention of Black and Hispanic students. He is displeased with not being on policy formulating committees particularly when these committees call on him for consultation whenever "minority issues" arise. O. believes that White students are being denied, "cheated out of history", with the way the present monocultural curricula is being taught. Therefore, he strongly advocates for a multicultural curriculum.

O. 's primary mentors are three Black male administrators at other institutions. His primary support groups have been his wife, and the (local city) Inter University Council of Administrators of Color. Attending conference has been good for him especially since it has given him an opportunity to see how "bad it is at other places." It has also been a time when he could "purge" himself of his own frustrations. At the institution he has been trying to get the Black faculty, staff and administrators' support group back together.

In summary, O. is very pleased with what he has been able to accomplish. He derives "great joy" in working with students; he describes his work as "my ministry." His hopes for the future include establishing a Boystown for troubled Black youth; he would like to become the President of a community college or the vice president of a four year institution. He looks to Black leaders such as Booker T. Washington, Mary McCleod-Bethune and DeBois for inspiration.

Profile Synopsis # 7: M.

M. has been at the same predominantly White public university for 17 years. He presently holds dual positions as Associate Director of Admission and Director of Academic Support for Athletics. His highest degree earned is a doctorate.

M. has held a variety of jobs with a variety of title changes all of which seemed to fall under the category of "acting." His career has not been characterized by a lot of upward mobility, nor does there seem to have been much support for advancement. His supervisor has been "nice" and while he hasn't hindered M.'s advancement, he has not been an advocate. Much of the time M. has been directed towards applying for minority focussed positions. At times he has felt that "raw deals" have been made and because he has not been perceived as a team player, he has not gotten the jobs.

A major incident in his career that led to this perception involved his taking a controversial stand on

behalf of a Black athlete whom he felt had been mistreated by the coach and institution. The institution categorized him as a "trouble maker." When he sought support from other Black faculty and staff, he was "left out to dry."

He feels that in order to get ahead Blacks still have to "go through the White network": "You don't have to kiss butt, but you need to be involved." In the workplace there is a lot of pressure on Blacks to prove that they can do the job. Blacks need to be better than others (Whites). M. says that while Blacks may not feel threatened at this institution, they may not feel comfortable.

M. has not felt a great deal of job satisfaction; in fact, at some points he has just been "putting in time." What has been rewarding has been helping Black students, particularly Black male athletes. His job has been "all right"; the institution has viewed his position as "low key" and hasn't "really cared."

As part of his unwritten job responsibilities, M. has served on several search committees because the university had a policy that all search committees have a least one minority member. In addition M. has been involved in student organizations including the Afro-American Association and has worked to develop greater communication between the campus and the nearby city. None of these responsibilities have been part of his evaluation and over time a person becomes "burned out."

M. did not receive much guidance at the start of his career; he applied for jobs that he wasn't really qualified for. There was no one there to teach him the ropes, and while people were nice, they did not go out of their way. His wife, his fraternity and his community involvement have provided him with a primary support network. M. wants to be a mentor and has wanted to have an impact on minorities in higher education. He would like to be "a change agent." At this point he is thinking of "moving on."

In retrospect, M. feels it is important to learn the tricks of the trade, but that does not mean losing one's integrity. He advises other Black administrators to "hold onto your identity", "keep your perception of where you came from", but "be a team player." Working with students and being involved in the community have helped him to maintain his identity. Working at a predominantly White institution requires both fortitude and perseverance as well as a doctorate.

Profile Synopsis# 8: Y.

Y. is presently a Bursar at a private university. He has worked at predominantly White institutions for the past 10 years. His highest degree earned is a masters.

Although Y. has held financial aid positions at several institutions, the working environment has been quite similar. Each institution to a greater or less degree was characterized by racism. At times his jobs have been

meaningful and he has learned a great deal. He expressed concern about being hired to do one job - a mainstream campus-wide position - but then realizing that co-workers were attempting to pigeon-hole him by referring all minority students to him. He said he was expected to perform certain jobs (i.e. recruiting, mentoring, counseling Black students, advising Black organizations), but not asked or compensated for doing so.

Y. describes himself as "fighting." "It's always a challenge and a chore." In order to be successful a Black person needs to work harder and be stronger than Whites. Blacks better be able to "back up what they do." Whites don't believe that Blacks are competent; they look for a Black person's weaknesses (i.e. writing or speech skills). At one time Y.'s supervisor had written a letter to be mailed college-wide; Y. took it and sent the letter to a White administrator using his name and office. As he expected the letter was returned with significant editing comments. He has taken revenge by not failing and continuing to succeed.

Y. has had one mentor: a Black administrator who was at one time his supervisor. He was the first Black person to hold this position and he hired Y. as his assistant. The White staff liked Y., but did not like their supervisor and would tell Y. this. He, in turn, would tell his boss after work hours of comments that were being made about him. Y. wanted to keep his boss informed and let him know what might

be "coming at him." Y.'s boss got him involved at the national level and helped him build a professional network within the financial aid community. Y. believes that Blacks need tutelage from someone Black; otherwise Blacks aren't prepared. When Blacks have come for interviews, Y. has tried to give them "the riot act." He has wanted to let them know what the situation is really like on campus in terms of the job as well as the climate. In addition, as he moved up in his career, he found himself calling up previous Black bosses and apologizing saying "I now understand all the fires you have to be fighting."

Y. has always had a commitment to Black students but has not wanted it to be his primary job focus. He feels the need for a Black professional organization; "we tend to be harder on each other than Whites." He would like to hire a Rainbow Coalition and work within that context. He plans to get a doctorate and move into teaching. "It's time for me to be a mentor." "Some of us may need to go to a Black college to move up", but there is a definite need for Blacks to achieve top level positions at White institutions.

Profile Synopsis # 9: A.

A. is Director of Academic Support for Athletes at a public university. He has spent over 20 years at predominantly White institutions of higher education. His highest degree earned is a doctorate.

Early on in his career A. was recruited to several positions. Later on he felt that he had been overlooked for a significant promotion and recently has felt that racism played a part in his not getting a new job that he had been promised.

At some institutions there has been high level support for minority programs and this has included some money for those programs; however, many of the faculty have resisted the presence of these programs and feel that students of color do not belong on campus. The faculty have not been sensitized and in large part view Blacks as inferior. The institutions have not received the preparation they need in order to accept minority faculty, administrators and students. While minority programs exist, they are the result of outside political pressure. A. has not always felt as though he has been treated like a colleague in different offices; "this is not a place of inclusion."

A. describes a lot of friction existing among Blacks. A top Black administrator expressed reservations about A.'s trying to hire Black faculty to teach Black students; the administrator wanted to maintain the status quo (i.e. using White faculty as teachers who wanted to earn extra money). A. was disappointed at the internal fighting among Blacks at the various institutions where he worked; "there is no united force on campus." Too many Blacks today have forgotten how they got to these campuses; they owe a great deal to the students of the sixties movement who forced the

colleges to respond to their demands. He has seen White administrators use Blacks to impede the progress of other Blacks. "It's still like a plantation."

A. has been mentored by a few Black faculty and administrators at other institutions. He also serves as a mentor to Black professionals and students on and off his campus. If there is a Black caucus on campus, in order for it to be effective, it must be active.

In summarizing his experiences, A. views Black professionals in education as the Jackie Robinson's of higher education. "We don't need to bob and weave; we expect professional treatment." There is still the need to be "super Black" to be successful. A. does not see his experiences as having made him a better person. He is not optimistic about the future; he believes that his children will still have to knock on doors that "we should have kicked down." He does not see colleges and universities working towards ending oppression, but he isn't any more optimistic about all Black colleges either. He fears that Blacks may have lost their identity and feels that "we're playing professional games." Finally he views being Black as "fighting from birth to death."

Profile Synopsis #10: N.

N. is director of Residential Life at a public college. He has worked at predominantly White institutions of higher

education for approximately 13 years. His highest degree earned is a masters.

Over the years N. has been offered several jobs. He has felt that his relationships with his supervisors have been "good." In his most recent job he was recruited by the president of the institution.

He feels that he has been respected professionally because he "got the job done"; however, there have been occasions where he felt he was being held more accountable for his performance than seemed necessary. As a matter of habit he kept a complete log of his time and when he used this to respond to various inquiries regarding his commitment to the job, the log was seen as evidence of his "being defensive." The phrase "You're being defensive" has been thrown in his face a number of times - by a supervisor and by a fellow administrator. The moment he has tried to defend himself, his comments have been perceived as additional evidence for his defensiveness.

He has worked hard to gain acceptance on many levels. Much of the time he has felt isolated and under a microscope. There is always the "need to prove myself", to "persuade others of my competence." In staff meetings N. feels that he has been required to present greater amounts of documentation and undergo greater scrutiny than his counterparts. At times when he was able to convince staff members of his ideas, they seemed to assume a "hands off"

policy - i.e. a "you can do it approach, but it's all yours."

He has not socialized with anyone on campus except people in the office whom he trusts. He has felt lonely, but not alone primarily because he went to school in this area and is familiar with the surroundings. Moreover he is only an hour away from home and finally there is another Black male administrator on campus who has served as his mentor. N. has also relied on his fraternity for support.

N. says that his jobs have provided him with "lots of opportunity for professional growth." His most recent job has allowed him to develop his own division for residential life. He describes his difficulty with having to fire, not hire or take disciplinary action against a person of color, but feels that his mentor has been particularly helpful in these areas.

N. has wanted to help students and expresses a "closeness to Black and Hispanic students." At one point he took the lead in getting the Association for Students of Color reactivated.

In summary, N. feels that his job performance is affected by his being Black - by having to meet the unspoken job requirements of being a Black administrator, by the greater expectations of the institution; he "feels the impact of the 'isms'" (oppression). He takes a great sense of pride in having made his family proud and strives for perfection.

Themes Generated From Participants' Profiles

Common themes generated by the participants are presented below. To a large extent these themes evolved out of the meaning participants made of their experiences. In addition, themes common to "minority focussed" administrators, senior administrators, and junior and senior administrators are presented.

Common Themes

A theme is considered "common" when at least seven participants refer to the theme. A general topic or category is presented first and is then followed by specific themes.

Work Environment. The working environment is lonely. In many cases there are only a few other Black administrators or faculty on campus. Participants feel isolated. One participant compares being Black to a quote by Kermit the frog: "It's not easy being green." Being Black on a predominantly White campus is a burden. There is a constant feeling of trying "to survive."

To survive takes fortitude, perseverance and being constantly mindful of the audience.

The environment is unfriendly; it is not inclusive and remains superficial.

When the top administrator is Black, participants feel better about the work environment.

Participants sometimes develop professional alliances with White females.

Work Experiences. Participants are often recruited for certain positions, i.e. minority focussed positions, etc., or are able to obtain positions with ease and regularity.

It is essential to have a doctorate degree to move up in higher education.

Participants express concern about being categorized (pigeonholed) as being able to work only in minority affairs or with minority students.

Administrators perform many unwritten job responsibilities including mentoring, advising, parenting, serving a role models etc. for Black students. These are responsibilities for which participants are not evaluated or compensated for; however, participants may be penalized for not performing some of these job responsibilities. But if the Black administrator does fulfill these added responsibilities, he is perceived as "anti institution", "a flag waver" for Black students - not a team player.

It is hard to serve two masters - the Black community and the institution. For example, one of the participants stated, "America has not yet faced the duality that they put Blacks in."

Relationships with Whites. Blacks should learn to communicate with Whites and develop good working relationships with Whites; however, they should take care not "to alarm" them (Whites).

White colleagues sometimes offer support, but Black colleagues tend to serve as mentors. (see Mentoring/Support)

When a Black person advocates for Blacks, Whites call into question their commitment to the larger institution.

There is a general feeling of distrust towards the institution; however within a participants' work experiences, they have experienced positive relationships with Whites.

Relationships with Blacks. Social ties of participants tend to be with the Black community.

"Every brother is not a brother." Participants cite incidents where Blacks have not been supportive and have at times tried to sabotage their upward mobility.

Participants want the Black community to recognize that they are maintaining their links with their Black heritage; i.e. they have not "sold out."

There is a great desire to give back to the Black community. This may be in the form of mentoring other Blacks or performing job related functions that go over and above job descriptions.

Mentoring/Support Network. Participants rely on their wives, members of community affiliations (i.e. NAACP, fraternities, churches) and other Black professionals at other institutions for professional support.

Black mentors help participants understand the system, offer advice and serve as a sounding board for participants' ideas and concerns. The Black mentor often provides the participant with the opportunity to vent their frustrations without fear of reprisal.

Being Black. Maintaining one's identity as a Black male is key to survival. It is important to know oneself and heritage.

There is concern that there aren't enough Black male administrators especially at the top.

Job Performance. Many believe that in order to be treated equally with their White male counterparts, their job performances must be "super" or outstanding.

There is a sense that job performance is always being "checked" by anyone and everyone. (i.e. the fishbowl phenomenon.)

It is important to the participants to do their jobs well.

Participants share a sense of accomplishment, that they have made significant contributions to the institutions as well as to Black folks.

Issues of Diversity. While there may be support around issues of diversity by top administrators, unless these concerns are embraced by the total institution, nothing will change.

Participants are committed to diversity at all levels including hiring of staff, the composition of student body, and the curriculum taught.

Minority Focussed Themes

Working in minority focussed positions is frustrating because the institution is not fully supportive of program goals.

Among participants in minority-focussed positions there is the sense that their work represents "a calling" or is "my ministry." They are committed to helping students achieve, particularly minority students. Their sense of self worth is directly tied to their interactions with students.

Senior Administrator Theme

Senior administrators express a desire to work at an all Black college to affirm and test their abilities. "Am I as good as they [Whites] say I am?"

Senior/Junior Administrator Theme

Participants cannot always tell other Blacks what they are doing for them or the Black community. To succeed one must be a team player. This means that the participant cannot implement all that he would want to; sometimes he must support programs he is not one hundred per cent behind.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

Introduction

This chapter summarizes Chapters 1 - 4. Implications of common themes and recommendations for further research are discussed.

Summary

The purpose of this study was to investigate the experiences of Black male administrators at four-year predominantly White institutions of higher education. The study had two specific objectives: one, to allow participants to reconstruct and describe their experiences; and two, to allow participants the opportunity to reflect on these experiences and to bring meaning and understanding to them. From participants' interviews the researcher developed themes common among them.

Chapter One provides a context for studying Black male administrators at four-year predominantly White institutions of higher education. Historical information regarding Black male administrators is presented and linked to present concerns around declining numbers of Black administrators. Differences between Black administrators and Black faculty members are noted and a rationale for investigating the

experiences of Black administrators is offered. Themes generated in previous research are cited to further support the significance of the study. Finally the purpose and significance of the study are presented.

Chapter Two reviews relevant literature dealing with the experiences of Black faculty and administrators employed at predominantly White institutions of higher education. A focussed review of literature dealing with Black professionals in corporate America is examined for similarities and differences with the experiences of the population being studied. Themes that emerge from the literature are identified according to Black professionals in higher education, Blacks in corporate America, as well as more focussed themes for Black administrators at predominantly White institutions of higher education.

Chapter Three provides a description of and rationale for the research methodology. The focus of in-depth phenomenological interviewing is to have participants reconstruct their experiences and reflect on the meaning they make of those experiences. Making meaning of experiences utilizes interpretations, associations, and emotional responses which the person has brought to those experiences. Finally the results of a pilot study completed by the researcher are described.

Chapter Four is divided into two parts. The first section presents synopses of the participants' professional experiences at four-year predominantly White institutions of

higher education. Interview data that explicitly dealt with their experiences is included. The second section generates common themes for all participants. Also addressed are themes particular to senior Black administrators, junior and senior Black administrators, and minority-focussed administrators.

Institutional Implications

The discussion of implications is divided into two major categories: Implications for the Institution at Large, and Implications for Black Male Administrators.

Implications for the Institution at Large

Chapter Four groups common themes under eight different headings: Work Environment, Work Experiences, Relationships with Whites, Relationships with Blacks, Mentoring/Support Networks, Being Black, Job Performance, and Issues of Diversity. These headings serve as an organizing framework for discussing implications for the institution at large.

Work Environment. Participants described their work environment as lonely and unfriendly. To survive in an environment that remains exclusive and superficial, one must develop fortitude and perseverance. When the top administrator is Black, participants feel better about their work environment.

This data underscores the need for concerted efforts to hire more Black administrators at all levels. Clearly the experiences of these participants suggests a real need to create an environment where Blacks feel included. Inclusion can come about when there are greater numbers of Blacks and when people have more opportunity to participate in the institutional decision-making process.

Work Experiences. Participants are concerned about being categorized as only being able to work in minority-focussed positions. They describe the paradox of being asked to advocate for Blacks on one hand, but if they do, being perceived as "anti-institution." Moreover, while this advocacy is not considered part of their official job responsibilities, failure to perform such roles can have a negative impact - one, on their job evaluations, and two, on the students' needs not being met.

This data suggests a real need for education and awareness on the part of the institution. The institution should consider their hiring and promotional patterns to make sure that they are not hiring Black administrators only in minority-focussed positions. In addition the institution should be held accountable for the job descriptions agreed upon by the employee. For example, if it is the intention of the institution to have the Black administrator handle Black student issues, then this should be explicitly stated in the job description.

Related to this and discussed more fully under the heading Relationships with Blacks is the commitment of many Blacks to serve in mentoring and advising roles to other Blacks. The institution needs to recognize and affirm these activities as they do for those who perform other duties not included in their job descriptions. The institution might formalize some of these functions (i.e. a Mentor Program) so that these contributions can be recognized.

Relationships with Whites. Participants feel the need to develop good communication and working relationships with Whites; however, that is not easily accomplished. There tends to be a degree of distrust towards Whites and participants try to avoid "alarming" Whites. Although individuals may develop positive relationships with Whites, the overall institutional tone between Blacks and Whites is one of distance. Obviously, training and workshops which strive to develop an appreciation of diversity are essential.

The institution can mandate employee participation although they cannot mandate results. Nevertheless the institution can make clear its goals and objectives regarding diversity. It must also begin to articulate the losses accrued to the institution as a whole for NOT embracing diversity.

Relationships with Blacks. The Black community tends to be the source of participants' social outlets as opposed to the campus community. Participants feel a strong need to give back to the community and do not want to be perceived as having "sold out." Moreover they recognize that there are Blacks who are not supportive and may try to undermine the progress of other Blacks.

This information has institutional relevance. In general institutions should develop greater links with the Black community. In addition the institution should not find ONE Black person or a small group of Black persons and then allow these individuals to become the "Black power brokers" or the Black experts on Blacks. Institutions need to move away from this historical slave mentality and move towards a one person, one voice perspective.

Mentor/Support Networks. Mentors and wives provide Black administrators with key support. Mentors tend to be Black and offer participants an avenue through which they can obtain advice and vent their frustrations.

Since Blacks rely on other Blacks for mentoring, institutions can support this by encouraging their attendance at conferences; they can also formalize the process of mentoring for all administrators and reevaluate their policies and procedures to be sure they are explicitly stated. The goal is to either eliminate or formalize those unwritten practices.

Being Black. Participants identify strongly with their Black heritage and feel that that identification provides them with the strong sense of self needed to survive and succeed.

The institution needs to reflect on its openness and willingness to allow individuals to express their cultural background. Institutions can demonstrate their openness by integrating cultural events and celebrations into the normal routine of the institution. College decor can reflect cultural inclusion rather than being isolated to a special exhibit once a year (i.e. art work).

Job Performance. While participants feel a great sense of accomplishment in their work, they also feel a great deal of pressure to be super competent. Many believe that in order to be treated equally with their White counterparts, they must out perform them. Clearly this adds an additional strain to the working environment of Black administrators.

The institution needs to address this issue in two ways: First, it must clarify its job descriptions and evaluation criteria, making the steps to promotion more objective. Second, the institution must sensitize its supervisors and managers to have equal expectations for all personnel.

Issues in Diversity. Participants are committed to diversity at all levels including hiring of staff, the composition of student body and the curriculum taught, however, if the President of the institution speaks of a commitment to diversity and this is not followed up by concrete plans for implementation, measures of accountability and continued support by senior administrators, little will be accomplished.

Predominantly White institutions of higher education should reflect on their commitment to diversity. If diversity is viewed as a "nice frill", then efforts will remain superficial. As long as an institution's commitment is confined to superficial practices then diversity is not really achieved.

In order to make a deeper commitment to diversity the institution must recognize the benefits to inclusion. An environment that takes into account different perspectives invites the full participation of all its members. There is a greater sense of ownership which can lead to increased productivity and greater institutional commitment.

Implications for Black Male Administrators

From this research emerges some areas of consideration for Black male administrators at predominantly White institutions of higher education:

It is important to maintain one's cultural heritage. As Jesse Jackson says "I am somebody." A significant way to

combat the isolation on campuses is to develop a strong professional network and maintain one's link to the Black community. When possible, Black administrators should develop mentor relationships particularly with higher level Black administrators, either on campus or elsewhere. Other administrators can also assist in offering advice and guidance particularly around understanding the formal and informal operations of the institution. Black administrators should be knowledgeable about job requirements and clarify for themselves expectations and criteria for promotion. A doctorate degree is essential to further advancement within higher education.

When possible, Black administrators should strive to become mentors to other Black professionals and students. Finally, they should respect the diversity or differences in points of view among other Black colleagues. They should also respect the cultural diversity of their campuses.

In conclusion, for Black administrators working at predominantly White institutions it will require perseverance, fortitude and determination to be successful.

Themes not Previously Identified in the Literature

Themes not identified within the review of the literature, but identified by participants in the present study include:

- When the top administrator is Black, participants feel better about the work environment. They feel more tolerated.
- Participants cite incidents where Blacks have not been supportive of other Blacks and at times have tried to sabotage their upward mobility.
- Participants share a sense of accomplishment that they have made significant contributions to the institutions as well as to other Blacks.
- Among participants in minority-focussed positions there is a sense that their work represents "a calling" or "my ministry." They are committed to helping students achieve, particularly minority students.
- Senior Black administrators express a desire to work at an all Black college to affirm and test their abilities. "Am I as good as they (Whites) say I am?"
- Upper level Black administrators cannot always tell other Blacks what they are doing for them or the Black community.

Observations on the Process of In-Depth Phenomenological Interviewing

A discussion on the methodology was not a planned part of the original research proposal; however, the researcher feels that it is important to take note of several observations about the interviewing process.

First, the process appeared to promote a sense of equity between researcher and participant. The participant was allowed to present his information "in his own words", without having to be concerned about their audience. All of the participants expressed their appreciation for being able to participate in the study. Participants felt they had an opportunity to sit down and truly reflect on their lives. The process involved more than contributing information from a dissertation. The interviews allowed them to think through "where they had been", "where they were", and "where they might be going."

Second, the interview process had a strong effective component. Participants brought a lot of energy to the interviews; in the process of recounting their experiences, many of their feelings were resurrected. As reported by some the participants they found themselves continuing their conversations in the interviews at home and with others. Others reported that these interviews served as a benchmark in their professional lives. It brought focus and clarity to their work and for some it suggested that "it was time to move on."

Third, the depth and richness of the information provided is evidence of the level of trust that was developed between researcher and participant. One of the beginning components of trust was the referral process; however, the key component was the establishment of the researcher as a caring and sincere listener. For example,

one participant reluctantly agreed to the interviews and gave the impression that the only reason why he had agreed to the interviews was because of his relationship with the person who had referred the researcher. In the first interview the participant noted how much time had been blocked out on his calendar to complete the interviews and was concerned that he might have to change the schedule. He also asked if he could "do some work" while doing the interview and asked if it would be "OK" if there were "some interruptions." Within five minutes of beginning, it was clear that he would not do any work and had committed his undivided attention to the process. At the end of the interview the researcher asked about schedule changes to which the participant responded "We'll leave it as is. It's OK. I'll work around it."

Recommendations for Further Study

There are several potential areas for further inquiry and research. Replication studies, using in-depth phenomenological interviewing and focussing on the experiences of Black presidents and/or female administrators at predominantly White institutions of higher education, would increase our understanding of Black administrators at these institutions. These studies may offer insights into how other Black administrators can reach the highest level of success at a predominantly White academic institution.

Another area of investigation utilizing in-depth phenomenological interviewing would be the examination of the experiences of Black administrators at predominantly Black institutions of higher education, as well as a study of the experiences of White male administrators at predominantly White colleges and universities. These studies may offer insights into the similarities and differences of Black and White administrators' experiences in higher education.

Present research observations indicate that in-depth phenomenological interviewing involves more than information sharing. Little research has been done to investigate the impact of this methodology on participants. More research should be done to clarify the impact of this methodological process.

Finally, further research on the format of the methodology should be undertaken to investigate potential modifications on the number and duration of interviews.

APPENDIX A

PROFILE 1: V.

President of a public university, and 13 years at predominantly White institutions of higher education. Highest degree earned: doctorate.

Interview:

V: ... Many years ago, many many years ago I was offered a job in [state].... The question on the phone was whether I was - it was a polished way of asking whether I was a militant Black or not. I mean it was the first time it ever happened to me. I said, "I'm a nice guy, I have some views." To make a long story short, they didn't hire me.... I wasn't going to go there or anything. But I said to a person, "What's giving you such a hard time making a decision whether you want me, you want this other?" "It's hard." Finally they called after my nagging; months go by. The guy said, "We just didn't know how you would function in a sea of Whiteness." I mean, that's what I'm told, that's the reason. So they hired somebody else. And I said to the person, I chuckled, I said, "Look at my CV [curriculum vitae]. I 've mastered, I think, the ability to live in my world which is a Black world, your world, and I've played by your rules, your criteria...."

Well I left A.[university] as an associate, came to B. [university] as associate dean of education - that's the number two person in the school - and associate professor. Continued publishing and all that good stuff, which I love. And time came to put in my papers. The understanding was I had to be here a year ... and at the beginning of the second year to put in my papers to be considered for full. Well they didn't. Somebody forgot to give them something and all that. It's crazy. And I said, "It's not a big thing." And I really meant that.... So the next year I put my papers in and needless to say I went through with flying colors....

In retrospect I really think it was partially somebody sloughed off on the work and screwed up. And also it didn't hurt the cases of the people. I think everybody was honest. And I've got to be honest too and say to you, if I had wanted it I could have pressed for it. But it wasn't important for me. I found the department very supportive of me, the first Black associate dean that they had. I found them willing to accept me, by and large as a person because that's the only way I dealt with them. I learned a lot about me. I acquired some management skills....

CP: There weren't any administrative opportunities there? [At A. university]

V: Yes there were, and I had an opportunity to become an assistant provost while I was there, primarily responsible for Affirmative Action, and it would have

branched into some other things I'm sure. And I chose not to because I didn't want to be pigeon-holed.

CP: As?

V: As a Black who only dealt with Black problems and issues. And I was grateful and will always be grateful to the provost for his willingness. I tried to do volunteer work and he liked it and wanted to hire me....

CP: Now you come to B. [university]. You decided not to take the provost position at A., and I guess you heard of something at -

V: No, as a matter of fact I told someone that I was interested in moving, and happened to be out in [city] on business, and J. ... saw me at the meeting and said, "[V.], there's somebody in town ... who's a dean up at B. and I'd like you to meet him. And he'd like to meet you. I told him about you." And we hit it off. I applied, but I knew a lot of other people were going to apply too, including M.'s best friend. So when M. called and told me I had the job I almost had a heart attack.... And M. is just a great person to work for. I did that for five years. I had a lot of fun....

[At B.] So I did what I've always done: whenever I got into a job I made a habit of reading everything that's been written within ten years - everything. I mean if you ask me ... anything about this office, that office, if it's been written, I've read it in the last 16 months. And I've been blessed because I have almost a photographic memory ... so that if I read something, like I can tell you F. and them, I can do the same thing. And so with J.[subordinate to V. who wanted V.'s position], who wouldn't give information, was amazed after the first week when things would come up, he would say this and I would say, "No, if you recall that was discussed previously." And at first he would say, "How do you know?" And I would say, "So-and-so put it in this memo, and [etc.]." And he stopped. So it was information, getting on top of information because what that enables you to do is - I hate to use the word 'control' - but enables you to influence the direction of conversations, even if it's only a little bit of information....

CP: Within that experience can you point to any situations that said it happened because there is this first Black male administrator?

V: Oh God, yes. I'll give you three. The first one I'll give is where we structured money for not Blacks, just for women. A support group for women. Yeah, because of me, I structured with them to help female graduate students, particular emphasis toward women who were married.... Probably the one that would stand out even more than that would be the school districts around [area cities] sending people applying to graduate school because of the visibility and the interaction with them. A sense that "now this is a place that we can visit, we can go to: a place that we can come to that there's somebody who understands and who will

work with us." And I think all of us, including me, just looking at that there was a greater sensitivity on all of our parts because of the experience. We then hired an assistant dean, or as assistant to the dean, a Hispanic lady.... Just a great person, and at a level of sensitivity that we didn't have. You think you've done a good job and that you're sensitive, and then R. came aboard and we realized that we weren't as good as we could be. She pressed us to be even better. But I think there are some people if you asked if I was Black they would say to you, "Hmmm, let me think." In the end they would say "yes," but the reason they would think is because I tried to get them to see what we were doing was good management, good administration, it was good for the organization. It just so happened to have been done by a Black. And we got them more involved, by the way, in Black history; that was kind of fun. That was fun because the person in charge of the cultural center, Black, got me involved. So I said to the school, "We got to do something, we got to have an exhibit." So we did something. But again, you do those things and you kind of take them for granted.....

CP: ... Back at B., the support group you had at A.[university], was there such a group, or was that developed within your school?

V: There was. Probably the man who I think is one of the greatest people on the face of the earth is F. F. is such a good man. I mean this guy is good as gold.... F. would talk to you. He was like the granddad of the campus; he would talk to a number of us. If there was bickering, if there was something happening, we'd get behind closed doors and we'd talk about it. So there was a support system there. And F. was good people....

Well it was organized: they met periodically but it was not, it wasn't when I left, as together as A. One reason I think was that at A. we were out in the boonies, there was nothing else to do.... But B. never did, never did materialize, although people are always supportive. The thing that was similar was that although B. didn't meet, you knew they were there and if you needed someone you could make a call. The results were the same, thought the structure wasn't necessarily the same....

I left [the School of Education] and went to central administration so, but the time I was there was M.'s leadership. But it was fun.... I left there and became Associate Vice-President of Academic Affairs in which I was responsible for all the regional campuses, ... I was responsible for twelve other units as well. They reported directly to me in terms of line. Staff responsibilities, I became the budget officer, policy level, not day-to-day, for academic affairs. That's two-thirds of the university's budget that I dealt with. Of the deans, the deans dealt probably as much with me as they did with the VP. As the guy who hired me said, "really hired [V.] as a co-VP." And that's how we functioned. He was great to work for and his

successor was great. I had a chance to go back to that to be provost and turned it down....

Loved working with people, loved the potential influence I had or could have for doing something for us - Blacks, and other minorities, and women. We were able to help do a better job in getting some money and all that. Came to realize early on that occupants of these positions, presidents, assistant presidents, vice presidents, all that kind of stuff, all those types of people could make a difference, really could make a difference. But that job is the best job in higher ed that I've ever had because they allowed me to run the field. I've learned stuff that I could never learn. People have asked me how could you move from being an associate VP to president. And I said to them, "My bosses gave me such experience." They said, "Did you meet this person, or that." I said, "Very few people I didn't meet," I mean legislators. All of them knew me because when somebody needed to testify I was there. My boss would say, "[V.] handle it." Not because he didn't want to do it, because he knew I'd do a good job. Or, "Go negotiate this with this group. Stop this squabble." And I say again to you, no different than living in the streets. It's the same. It's so clear to me.... Well the same thing at B. in that position: there were a lot of things that I didn't know that T. and J.[administrators] allowed me to benefit from by saying, "Take care of it." So if I didn't know, I learned it quickly. More importantly, they believed in me and they trusted me. What else can you say? Yes I am Black. And whenever issues came up, whether it was setting aside money for minority scholarships - which we have - or giving J. more support in her shop, or someone else, we did, because I'm committed to that. At the same time I couldn't stand on a pedestal because once you do that you lose some of your supporters, not because they are racist, because they want to be treated fairly. And they don't understand how a Black man can be an advocate of Blackness and treat everyone fairly, but yet you can be White and you can treat it - and I can understand that. And you work through it, and I just take people where they are. But it was a five fun years....

[As Associate Vice President of Academic Affairs]
It [race] wasn't an issue. But I think the plus of being Black is that even when it isn't an issue, it helps because what happens is that people see that Blacks can do, Blacks can be articulate, can think on their feet. So without trying you're knocking down various stereotypes. It just so happens the campus directors were just great to work with, I mean they really were, and I enjoyed every minute of it.... In the seventies I had an opportunity to leave the state twice. The first time I accepted a job and then I turned it down, decided not to go. Then I had another job to go to T. [university]. The first one was K. [university], it was deep. And I said to my boss ... "My reluctance to come to [the university central office] is I don't know if I'm going

to be able to help us [Blacks]. And to the extent that I can, I want to. I also understand that once I take the job, there are some things I'm not going to be able to do and some of us will say, "he's a Tom, he's a turkey, he didn't do all he could do," because in these positions you can't tell the world what you're doing."...

Well ... the guy who was going to be my boss said, "[V.], if you come with me I assure you, you'll be able to do whatever you want to do to help minorities. And I'll set aside \$100,000 on top for you to do some things with," which he did. So I used it as scholarship money. They needed some money to do something else. I said, "Here it is." They said, "How do you do that?" I said, "He's committed." And so that's the kind of relationship we had to bring about change within the environment. Worked with students as well as staff....

I then was nominated for this position [president of C. university] by an old classmate of mine in undergraduate school. He was the vice president in [state]. All this other stuff had gone on, I wasn't paying any attention. I then was a finalist and my understanding is - I'm being modest but - the job at B. [university] as provost was mine. I turned that down. I had been nominated for this and I wanted to come here. At least wanted to see if I could get it. And learned that, a couple of meetings, that a certain person was bad-mouthing me, saying that the reason the university's affirmative action plan hadn't been approved, you name it. Stuff that I knew about but I wasn't responsible for them.

Anyway, I'd go off, in one job interview where I was assured of the presidency, been locked out of that one. Still didn't get bitter. And then I got angry one day after a meeting, very angry. Said to J., "I'm resigning." He said, "What are you going to do?" I said, "Go to law school." He said, "Why are you resigning?" I said, "That's very simple. I'm angry now, and I've been married 24 years, been angry three times. I don't get angry.... And so I'm leaving here, otherwise I will do something."... Well I had already resigned my job at B. J. just kept the letter. He said where was I going? I was a full tenured professor. I could have made more money being a full tenured professor than I make here now. I said, "I don't want to be a full tenured professor because your organization is sick. I'll just go to law school, get my degree, and then I'll decide what I'm going to do. It's not the end of the world. It's not very convenient but it's not the end of the world, that's for sure. That's a choice I'm making for me. I'm not going to have somebody else determine my destiny."... As fate would have it, J. then resigns. Then who's asked to be the provost? I am.... So then he had everybody. I mean everybody, you name it, called my house: "You got to take it." The next morning I said no. But he couldn't understand. He said, "You're insane." ... And I said to my friends, "Hey, I'm doing what I feel I got to do." And

as fate would have it, this job, I was interviewed after they screened a hundred and some applicants. They selected me. There were three panels of local committees: a board committee, and president of the system. All three I was there first choice. So it worked out. Happy accident. Can't say it's brilliance or anything.

If things had been differently there [at B.] and I had been treated as a person by that one individual, I'd be there now. Never would have left because I like doing things for people, and the beauty of being at that level was that I could help a lot. I know that's kind of hoky, but that's just the way I am. I can help a lot and I enjoy it. But sometimes things happen for the best, and so in a way it did....

[As president of C. university] First year has been a very rewarding year in a sense in that I have learned a lot about me. I know there's some things I can't do well more than I thought I could do maybe. And I'm convinced now that one does not have to go through all the chairs to be an effective president. Also, every now and then I bemoan the fact that you become president of an institution that's in need on all fronts which isn't easy. I mean it's one thing to need PR, it's another thing to need funds, it's another thing to need people, and I could go on and on on every front.... It's lonely, lonely. And the one thing that I'll tell you, being a minority - it's lonely. It's lonely. It's like Kermit the frog: "It ain't easy being green." It's a fact of life. You got to deal with it. You don't go around looking for sympathy, "Oh my Lord, I'm Black." ... You got the job. And everybody feels they own you.... [Re: presidency] And it's worth it. There are days I say 'no', but yeah, it's worth it.....

I think the position by itself is lonely because you have to have some distance. On the other hand I would say to you, because of my nature, I'm a loner. It coincides with that. That's why I say "yes". I socialize with some people and I have some friends but I measure all that because you have to be careful.... And we've had more social functions since I've been here than the place is accustomed to.... But that's still not what I'm after. What I'm after is where you can put down your hair and actually feel relaxed. These jobs are difficult. I guess what's more demanding than that is the fact in so many ways you have within your hand the future of so many people. Some people say, "Oh, that's a joke." And it isn't. You make some budgetary decisions, you have to call up people and say, "You're unemployed." But I love it. If you say to me, "Do you like it?" "Love it!"

CP: Love the power of it.

V: No, the thing I love the most - and I can honestly say, and people that really know me - I rarely think of the power, I think of the opportunities to help, to get something done. You see I argue power is an illusion. I had more power when I was an associate VP than I have now.

I have more authority now, but not the power. Because I could cut deals as number two. I could cut deals and barter this from here to here, whereas here, you smile and somebody reads into it. But it's still worth it, believe me. Having had this experience from city life, center city to the presidency, I'll tell anybody, it's a long nice ride. Rough, bumpy, but it's a nice perspective. And if you can maintain a sense of from which you come, it's ideal.... And I think that has to be our message. It's working hard: yes, more is going to be expected of you. One, because you expect it of yourself. The other thing is you expect others to expect it of you so you do it. And the last but not least, they do expect more. And the beauty of it is, you're capable of doing it, otherwise you wouldn't do it. The thing that hurts the most is you can't always tell your people. I'll give you an example: I had two finalists for two other positions. I was looking for one dean of students and one VP of academic affairs, both Black. Nothing would have done me more good in my heart than to have a cabinet of all Blacks. I dream one of these days that I can pull it off. Now one can ask the political question, "Is it feasible?" I understand. But I didn't get to that one. I would like to have had to debate myself in the bathroom while I'm showering: "Now I've got the top people all Black and Black president, what the heck." But I didn't get to that point, but that's a debate I'd like to have....

Whatever I give the faculty I like writing it out. If someone wants to challenge me, don't go on what you think I said; just look at what I wrote and that way there's no hassle. Because people are always coming at you.

CP: How do they come at you?

V: They challenge what I said in the promotion and tenure paper.

CP: Challenged it because it's different from what they used to do in the past or -

V: Yes, and they wouldn't have a leg to stand on. But I understand. Because I'm not going to stand out there naked. There's one thing you learn on the streets, if you're going to go outside then have clothes on.... But you can tell I enjoyed growing up on the streets. So I can relax with you. My colleagues, my staff, they do this all the time and they say, "Then you give this speech and you sound as if you walked out of Harvard." "Well that's different." I said, "We learn to do that all the time, that's switching. Click it on when I need it, click it off.... When I first got here we had a minority enrollment

APPENDIX B

PROFILE 2: D.

Associate Vice President for Student Affairs at a public university, and 21 years at predominantly White institutions of higher education. Highest degree earned: doctorate.

Interview:

D: The summer program was part of the Trio program. Upward bound was a part of it and Talent Search was another part of it. We had all three of them. Up to that time the summer program was not getting any federal funding; the university was funding it out of state funds so the university had a commitment, there's no question about that in my mind. We eventually got funding. I remember the first funding that we got was \$64,000. I believe we got that the second year I was director of the program. I directed that program for three years I think. Then I got a promotion to assistant vice president for academic affairs. At that particular time I supervised the regional campuses and a number of other programs associated with agencies on this campus. That was a harrowing experience for me because I really didn't quite understand the politics involved. Even though I knew who I worked for, I didn't realize that there were complications between the people that I worked for and the people who supervised the people that I worked for. But I soon found out; it took me about two months to find out something about the politics....

Now I was promised that if I moved from academic affairs to student affairs that I would have a shot at being vice president for student affairs. That's where a lot of my expertise was. Well that didn't come about because we got a new president and somehow or another I had a feeling that even though things are said to be a secret, there is no such animal as secrecy. And I think some votes were probably explained that certainly didn't do me any good, I don't think. I happened to be on an advisory board that was screening applicants to submit to the trustees for the presidency, and of course we all have our own views as to who is good and who is no damn good. If you come out on the wrong side you got to pay the penalty for it. I'm not complaining, I'm not complaining at all because if I had come out on the right side I think I would have been all right. As it was one of my colleagues who was at the time an assistant vice president also got to be the president. I'm not sure I got that much help from the previous vice president even though that was hard to believe but I don't necessarily feel that I got any help from him....

So I didn't get that job [Vice President of Student Affairs]. I guess I might be a little bitter about it even now because I really feel that I could have offered a lot in that job. I ask myself now, why didn't I leave. I'm not sure why I didn't leave. and to be very frank with you, it was my intention to leave every year. And I realized that I had stayed so long that I did not have ten years to work at a new place. In my own little mind, a person ought to stay at a place at least 5 or 10 years if he's going to go into a new place. And then of course my opportunities were somewhat limited in terms of what I wanted to do and where I wanted to be. I had a couple of interviews for presidencies and I would have been a money raiser. I had a couple interviews for deanships. Here again, there was no money to spend. At A. if you had a good idea, and you could put it on one sheet of paper, you could get the money to do it for a long time. And actually I was making more money at that particular time than I would have made had I gotten the presidency at one or two of those small colleges. So I guess I was selfish in thinking about my family and needed to make as much money as I always could make.

Just a lot of little things that I learned from my father have helped me as an administrator. You don't hire people that you can control. You hire people that can help you do a better job. And if you're not strong enough to manage that person then shame on you.... Another thing is you have to find somebody to confide in and you have to find somebody that you can tell the whole truth to. You find that person and you do that up front. And maybe nobody else knows but that person. But I don't think I've ever had anybody with me that couldn't come to me and tell me the truth.... I have worked with my immediate supervisor for a number of years and I have done nothing but support her in spite of the fact that deep in my heart I knew she was shafting me. But I knew that, and I had two alternatives. I always have two alternatives: you either do the job as prescribed or the job as prescribed is so detrimental to your own philosophy you have to quit, and you quit and fight. But you never fight internally....

My supervisor at the time I did the summer program was the vice president of academic affairs, and he was second in command to the president. I really had the support of the institution.

C: So there was not great friction with the institution with what you were trying to accomplish.

D: No it wasn't at all. In fact the institution was trying to find somebody who would take on the responsibility of designing and conducting the program, and that's precisely what I wanted to do. I wanted to be my own man anyway. In fact, the institution did not give me a set budget, line-item. They gave me a blank damn check for two or three years; spend whatever you think you need. In the meantime, I had had administrative experiences in running a school system so I felt I knew what I was doing. As a

matter of fact I did a good job. Had wonderful cooperation from schools and colleges and departments and this kind of stuff....

[As assistant vice president of academic affairs] I guess actually what you're seeing here is promotion internally. Every promotion that I've ever gotten at A. has been as a direct result and indirect result of one or two or three people: L. [who was] dean of the college of liberal arts and science. When we, M. and myself, were associated with the college liberal arts and science doing the seminars, so L. knew who I was as having seen me work with M., and eventually got to work with him in the summer program when he was the senior administrator over that, I was director. So when the opening arose for assistant director of academic affairs, there were four of them, and I got one of them. Three White guys got the others. My responsibilities there were the regional campuses, the honors program, the Marine Science program - I don't even know all of them but if I can get a directory I can tell you - and of course some of the agencies such as the summer program and the [upward bound] program....

[Experience as the only Black male administrator at the time] We hired all the [Black] people as best we could. We certainly always tried to infiltrate - maybe I ought to use another word but - we tried to introduce as many of us as we could, and I think we did that....

When we had the Afro-American cultural center in academic affairs, the budget was something like \$35,000 a year, and that was including the salary of the director. Today that budget is over \$275,000.... At that particular time I was in academic affairs. The vice president of student affairs was a Black man. So we kind of had a mutual agreement that we would protect those programs. When I was told that I would replace the Black male, I moved from academic affairs to student affairs....

[In academic affairs] At that particular time I supervised various programs in academic affairs, and some of the Black agencies also. That was a good experience. It was a very good experience. I enjoyed it. I would have stayed in academic affairs personally if I had thought that things were going to turn out like they did turn out because I think it's more prestigious, I think you have more control because the academic vice president is actually the first vice president of vice presidents....

[Re: how certain professors expressed dislike for having a Black administrator at the senior level] Like a corporation in some things. One example, I remember I began a survey one time and I had talked to the senior administrator about it and he said go ahead with it. I'm not sure that he meant it but he said it. And I was seeking the number of minority faculty persons in the various schools and colleges, and I remember getting a letter from some guy over in English that had pointed out that we had made a mistake in our letter. I don't know what it was, a

mistake in punctuation or misspelled word or typo or what. Some little thing. And he had used that as a means of ridiculing me. It seemed like he was a department agency head or something like that and I knew his name very well, I just won't use it. But he did not write to me, he wrote to my supervisor. My supervisor showed me the letter. And of course you know that he is on my shit list right now, and has always been since that time. And you know as strange as it might seem, he invited me to his house several years ago because he had an African dignitary over and he wanted to let them, I'm sure, think that he had some Black friends. And of course you know, you can guess whether I went or not, and you can guess my response. I ignored it totally. And I have on several other occasions had the opportunity to retaliate against him and I've done it every time, and hope I have one tomorrow, I'd do it again. I would. I don't want you to think for one moment that I am anything but very resentful of somebody who crosses me, because I am....

The survey was not successful, let's put it that way. We didn't get the data that we wanted. And I'm sure it was because of the fact that we didn't get the proper support from my superior. In other words, he didn't put on the kind of pressure that he could have put on [the department heads]....

C: Did you ever approach that with him?

D: Of course I did. And he denied it vehemently. But I know he was lying. There was no question in my mind about that. But I also couldn't do a lot about it either. But there was no question in his mind that I knew he wasn't telling me the truth. I thought about, I really thought about, I thought about sabotaging him because he and the president were not hitting it off worth a damn.... I saw opportunity to sabotage him once or twice, but I really felt that his views were better for the university than the president's were at that time. I felt that he knew more about the operation of the university than the president did at that time....

[Re: position available at another campus] But I missed that because of the fact that the key to the whole thing was, after we went through the whole search - and I chaired that search - after we went through the whole search and recommended three persons to my supervisor, I went on vacation. After I came back they had hired a person that we did not recommend, the search committee did not recommend. And of course that really ticked me off. So I went in to check to find out why because that was one of my responsibilities also, to supervise that campus. And he told me right off the bat that he could not afford to pay neither of the three persons that we had recommended so he hired somebody he could pay. Well okay, if he had told me that up front, I would have brought him in three persons that he could pay. Now the guy turned out to be alright, but we had turned the guy out because he didn't have any experience whatsoever, and we had recommended three persons

who had been presidents of smaller colleges. So it kind of made me look funny as chairman of the damn committee, but the rationale was a perfectly sound administrative one. But if I had known that up front I could have complied with that. That wouldn't have bothered me at all. So on several occasions N. did some things to tell me that I was still Black and he was still White. He did some things and he knows I know that. But I would suggest that we respect each other as men I think. I respect him as a man. I'm sure he respects me as a man. I'm not sure he likes all of my administrative tactics....

[Re: pursuing a vice presidency position] I was already working for him [the vice president]. The lady who eventually got the job was working for him. You know what I'm saying. And I have not forgotten that. I'm sure the lady who now has that job, nobody even thought about her at all. It was between [R.] and myself we thought. [He] and I had an agreement. After I had found out that he had left R. in charge for a year, I mean he left him in charge when he left, so they made R. acting while they were searching out the position. I didn't even apply for the job because during that time we got a new president and it was someone who I had not voted for as a person on that damn advisory committee. So I knew damn well I didn't have a chance in the world. So the president who had promised me that job was gone. So rather than embarrass myself I didn't apply for that job. They searched me out, they wrote me letters requesting that I apply for the job, the search committee.... So after several letters I did apply. They never interviewed me. I found out why they had asked me to apply, because they didn't have a sufficient number of capable Black applicants to actually get it through the Affirmative Action office. So they needed my application along with some others and they got it. There was a Black person involved in that too. I have not really figured whether I should hold him responsible or not. But in the mean time on that committee I had another White person who told me every damn thing that went on in the committee, at least his version of it.... [A student that had worked for me one summer when I was in the summer programs]...told me everything that went on in the committee. And my Black friend over there, when it came time to vote for the person that they would interview got up and walked out of the room....

There's no question about it in my mind, that there are Blacks in these institutions, Blacks in predominantly White institutions, who really maybe have lost sight of why they were there. I don't believe for one moment - makes no difference how capable I am or I was - that they would have hired me at A. had there not been Black students on this campus in sizable numbers. We've always had a dozen or so. I'm talking about sizable numbers. And I think there is a need for a different view point from someone at that central administration level as to what this actually meant having

these students on campus. They had a Black vice president for student affairs and a Black assistant vice president for academic affairs. And they got two very strong people who had different viewpoints themselves sometimes, but that gave them a cross section of how Blacks were thinking on various things. And it was a good move. The only reason, in my opinion, that Blacks will not be successful in a predominantly White institution is when they try to be something that they aren't. You're going to remain Black. You're not going to turn White just because you happen to become an administrator at a White institution. If you understand that, then you won't try to be something that you aren't. Nobody in the world might not agree with what you're thinking, but you have a right to think that, and maybe you're right. But even if you're wrong, that's pretty normal. Damn, other people are too. If you can remember that the majority culture is White in the institution that you're in, but that does not mean that you won't have something to offer that might be different. And I think you ought to offer that all the time because maybe some of it will wear off and it will be good for everybody, not just Black students, be good for everybody. But if you're trying to learn how to be White, I don't think you are going to be of any value to the institution, the White segment of the population, or the Black segment of the population, or any other segments of the population in between...See I'm not embarrassed to say that I think first about Black students, period. There are a hundred White people out here to think about the White students. It is not that I dislike White students, I don't. I get along with them well....

I had another experience where I was assigned the supervision of an agency. This is about three years ago, four years ago. I called the director in to check his budget. He had returned \$120,000 the previous year. I could not for the life of me understand how you could request a certain budget and then return \$120,000. So I started checking into it. And he immediately went to my supervisor and she immediately started supporting his line, so much so that it really didn't do me any good to chastise him because he didn't have to answer to me. So immediately you can imagine what I did. I said okay, if you're going to supervise this guy, then I don't need to be assigned to this position. And I said, from now on you take it. It took about a year and a half for that to officially take place. It never did take place in writing. So right now, unofficially I still supervise that agency. I don't go to that agency at all. Why the hell should I go to that agency when if he's going to be able to bypass me or override a decision that I've made, there's no point in me doing that. Of course he resigned, he retired, but then another lady - and I happened to be on that committee to pick her - she immediately spent the money for things that we needed those four years ago, like new publications. Publications that depicted a different student clientele. We had a

publication from A. that was geared primarily for Black students or Hispanic students. That's what I was going to introduce to him when I found out he had all this damn money. That's what he told my immediate supervisor I was going to introduce and she sabotaged it. But when we got a new president and a new director for admissions ... we got it done. I didn't get it done, but we got it done. So I've had my ups and downs and I've survived them. I've lost some, I've won a few. I have scars, I've given scars. I'm not unhappy now. I'm not unhappy with the institution.

C: You made mention of being the university's contact in minority communities.

D: I guess I hate to say that we're being used to do that, but I'm certain that that's the case. If there is a need for certain representation, we seem to get the assignment. S. and I have tried to not look at it as being a damn tokenism situation because hopefully the people we deal with will make some kind of responses that will be good for the people we want to help. If we help two Black students this week, maybe the week has not been a total disaster even though deep in my heart and deep in his heart we know damn well they sent us out there because we represented what the people out there want to see better than they do. So that really is being used and you know that. I know that. But since that is being used, we have to somehow turn that damn thing around so that we can get something out of it for somebody out there too. And hopefully we have done that. That's where the scholarship money comes in, that's where the enrollment of Black students comes in. And I say "Black students" all the time: it's not necessarily Black students, it's also minority students.

D: I'm concerned about the welfare and the conditions of persons such as myself, and especially those persons who might not have had an equal opportunity to make the kind of progress that they are capable of making because of racism, because of segregation, because of the American way of doing things, and maybe I can broaden it even more than the American way of doing things...

I can tell you, I believe in my own mind, that my immediate supervisor does not see me as the assistant vice president. Why doesn't she? Because that would mean that she would have to listen to my views on things in a committee like fashion. She'll get my views, but she'll get my views separately. And then I'm sure she's at liberty to use what she wishes to use of that. It's not that she doesn't necessarily believe that some Black people can tell her things, I think she does. But I might not see things as she would like me to see them at all times. When there is a problem with Black students however, she never fails to call me to get my views because I think she knows that my views, and our views, this office's views, are more in line with the thinking of the Black students than anybody else on campus. That alienates, that makes me angry sometimes.

Because if this office's thinking is more in line with what they want to know, then why the hell don't you use those views before the crisis?...

D: But it bothers me to no end when I see these persons bypassed time and time again for positions that they are more than capable of holding. And when I see assignments being made to other administrators who have in my opinion, very little experience and expertise in certain areas, and bypassing me and other administrators who I believe have more experience in those areas. It makes me realize that racism is still very, very present. And I think it's something more than racism. I think some of it is fear.

[Re: being replaced after upcoming retirement] I think they're going to be very very happy that I'm gone. I think that it's going to be because of my philosophy, not because of my productivity. But I am not the typical 'old boy' manager and I think they are more comfortable with the typical old boy kind of manager. I think they see my assistant as having gleaned or gained some of my philosophy. What they don't know is he is a whole person himself, and he has been as influential on me as I have been on him. But I just hope that he is not tarnished because of what they think about me. And I hope that he's not penalized because of his association with me because all that he has tried to do is those things that I have tried to do, and that is to do what is good for our clients and to make this university a better place in which to work and live. That's what both of us are trying to do....

There seems to be a real hesitance for certain Black males, meaning those Black males that tend to think for themselves, stand up, work within the system but not afraid of the system. And that you will find in each case where you find one of those, their being promoted is slim and far between. People are promoted over them, around them, brought in or whatever the case might be. Typical example is the director for the academic counseling for athletes. There's a Ph.D. over there, a Black male. The lady who left was a Black Ph.D. They got a retired guy who I respect a hell of a lot. It is not that they picked him, because I respect this White guy a lot. He's a fine person, but I don't know what the hell he knows about that particular position. He was a professor of animal science and retired. Whereas the other person, the Black Ph.D. over there was a football player in college, played professional football in Canada and in the United States, was a football coach here on the campus, been in student affairs and services in that particular counseling area for ten years, ten years! And they bypassed him the first time and got the lady who came in. Because Black ladies are far less threatening than strong Black men, in my opinion. Then they bypass him again; they don't even make him acting. So it is not that there is a reluctance to hire Black people, it is a reluctance to hire certain Black people, in my opinion....

I think I've been able to do some good. I think I have done some positive things. I think I have improved the university some. I think if I had been permitted to serve at my fullest, I could have contributed a whole lot more. I think we would have been further along in race relations if I had had an opportunity to have had more control. But I'm not unhappy with my life, having been here. I'm unhappy with my productivity as I measure myself, not as they measure it.

Now we had a survey recently of the minority students on campus to get their attitudes about A., and it came out like they were perfect. Well those of us who are around here know damn well that that's not true, and that's not the thinking of the doggone students. But the instrument was designed to get that kind of feedback.... No it [the instrument] wasn't designed by my office.... No it wasn't consulted with my office. In fact, S. was on the committee at one time. S. is my associate. S. has some information in methods. I did a damn dissertation on surveys, developed one. So we have some insight into what the hell they should be. S. was on the committee and offered suggestions as to how to improve the damn survey, but he was not heard. When the report was finalized his name was not even mentioned as being part of the committee so I pulled him off the damn committee. So now we don't have representation on that committee because if he was not mentioned as being part of the committee, then to me that was too embarrassing to leave him on. So I talked to him about it because I thought it should be done, but I would not have pulled him off without his okaying it. So we sat down and wrote a letter to the person, and I sent a letter to my immediate supervisor as to why we were doing this. We never got a response. How were they going to respond to it. I know why we didn't get a response, because it would have been incriminating. If I had a magic wand that I could wave and tell some of these people exactly how I feel about some of the things that they have done, it might be helpful to them. But then again I would have to get the strength to think highly enough of them to do that. And I don't give a shit what they do. A great institution too. This is a good institution. And most of the people here are good people. You have a few people, in my opinion, who stand in the way of progress, and they'll always be here, they're not going anywhere because somehow or another that 2% of the population that controls the world also controls the institutions. They decide who's going to be president. They decide everything; it appears as though someone else decides but that's not true. And some of us, maybe we got too smart....

[Advice to] a young Black administrator. I think one of the major things to keep in mind, is being able to look in the mirror every morning and tell yourself, "Hey, I did what I thought was proper yesterday, and I will do what I think is proper today. If this requires me considering resigning this damn position, I will consider that." But you must

understand that your resignation is not necessarily going to change the situation. Your chances of changing it are slim and none when you're not there. So every time you get angry, you can't run. Sometimes you have to stay and fight it out, and you might lose. But if you can look in the mirror and say, "I gave it my best," then I think you can go back the next day. I seriously hope that no one that I have dealt with below my management status or above my management status has any illusions that I have not known what was going on because I have known what was going on. And I have tried to mentally adapt myself to deal with what was going on. I recommend to any young Black administrator, you cannot for one moment fool yourself or close your eyes; know what's going on. Put yourself and your own welfare and your family's welfare first, and then of course you continue to move. And I think that your chances of surviving in a sane way are good. I'm glad to see you guys [young Black administrators] come in, I really am happy to see you come in, because I think you're strong enough if you have gotten to this point, if they have not wiped you out to this point, then you're stronger than most. There's no question about it. So I feel rather comfortable that you guys are strong enough to make it.... And you're not here because someone liked you that much; you're here because you fought your way that way. So you earned it; nobody gave you anything. If you think anybody gave you something, you're wrong. Nobody didn't give you anything, so you don't have to be beholden to a damn soul but yourself. And that's the attitude you have to have....

[Re: planning to continue to 'fight' after retiring] Oh absolutely. I'm stronger today than I was 20 years ago.... I'm ready to go. I don't see how I could possibly give up. I don't like defeat. I don't like to lose anything. I don't even like to lose a checkers game. I play cards hard.... I just don't think there's any kind of positive thing about losing.... And I've lost enough, but believe me I have not liked it....

[Before retiring] Well I have written a letter already. We have it on file. Expressing my views. It's just that I have not yet been able in my own mind to figure whether or not that letter would be helpful or detrimental to S. [my associate] because it is a very, very strenuous letter and it is very, very finger pointing, and it is very exact and to the point. I will not write a compromising letter, that's for sure. I won't do that because then I'm compromising him. And S. is not to be compromised. The man has almost got a Ph.D. He does not have to work here. And S. got the letter. I gave the letter to S. and had him file it away. He's at liberty to mail it any times he feels. If I don't think that it's time and he does think it's time, he's at liberty to mail it. That should tell you something about my relationship with him and my administrative pattern. My only reason for having not mailed it already is that one of my staff persons said, "You're going to do him

more harm than do good." And all of us were seated right here talking about it at the same time, because I dictated the letter when all of them were right here. That's a strange kind of way to manage, isn't it. That's the way I manage....

...Black males have to be tough, they have to think tough, they're going to have to reassure themselves and others like themselves. They might have to join together to assure some kind of a coalition whereby they can discuss each other's problems and maybe come to some solution that would be beneficial to all of them. I don't want to make this necessarily exclusionary, but it might have to be that way because we're the ones, Black males are the ones in my opinion right now, who are in the most danger. I have two sons, extremely bright fellows, who are having to work two jobs to maintain their families. And I know of persons who are not nearly as bright as they are who have much money. Now something has happened. I sit down and talk with them about it myself. But there's going to have to be more of me, there's got to be more people who are concerned about persons like Carlton and like [names] because really I hope that you guys will somehow do those things for us that we were not able to do. We tried. There are a lot of us like me, and near my age, who are reaching that point now that we are going to have to soon be off the scene. And even though I think we have done a very good job, we certainly have not accomplished the initial purpose. We have not made things exactly right. Things are a long ways from being equal or fair or equitable. You guys are going to have to work on that. I don't know what to say about Black women exactly. I'm developing an opinion but I'm not quite ready to talk about that opinion right now. I also have a daughter too who's a professional person. But I am sure of one thing, that if this country maintains itself, if this country becomes a better place, if this country survives, it is going to have to find some way to do away with racism and sexism and all this kind of thing because it is only weakening everybody, and it will continue to erode and deteriorate until we will fall from within because of man's inability to deal fairly with man. And I'm talking about women at the same time. I am confident that people in general know right from wrong but we're going to have to stop trying to get the upper hand on our fellow man. We're going to have to stop feeding on people's miseries. We're going to have to somehow grow morally and spiritually to the extent that we can deem it necessary to treat other people like we want to be treated regardless of color or race or creed or what have you. And when we can do this there's going to be a whole new mental awakening in this country and in this universe. And people will not be so carried away when we identify a new star or new planet, but they will be carried away because man has been human to man.... Now America's going to survive, but the comfort level in the country of the people is what I'm talking about. I believe

it's going to be persons like yourself and other Black males who have survived up to this point, and other Whites and other races who are going to have to see the real danger in isolating anyone as danger to themselves.... And it is possible to overcome the diseases that we have, all the mental anguish that we now know. Somehow I think mankind is capable of overcoming that if everybody's given the opportunity to contribute towards that end. And it's not happening today. People are being excluded for very frivolous reasons from developing their own capacities so they can contribute more, all because someone has designed an instrument to systematically eliminate that person. That's troublesome to think about sometimes but it smacks on being true. I've said much too much, but what do I know. What do I know?

APPENDIX C

PROFILE 3: L.

Dean of Students at a private college, and 13 years at predominantly White institutions of higher education.
Highest degree earned: master's.

Interview:

L: [At B. university] I came as an assistant to the vice chancellor and got promoted later to Special Assistant and I wasn't sure what that meant exactly. My boss and my mentor always told me don't be an assistant to anybody, and then he was telling me, "You can't pass up this opportunity. It will do things for you that I think will open some doors to sit on the right hand, or the left hand, of a chief executive officer for a very large student services division."

The first six months or so were pure hell because it really wasn't a defined job. Very similar - no - not even as challenging as my grad assistantship. I thought I had made a major mistake. ...I did a lot of reading, did a lot of going to places when the boss couldn't go, and though I can do those kinds of things, public relations is nothing I really enjoy; I don't like shaking hands that much. That's become a major part of my job here and it just doesn't bring me any joy. But that was a large part of what I did the first six months. And that was just frustrating. I wanted to be involved in setting things in motion, to make change, that kind of thing. I wanted to do something. I made myself believe that "Okay, I can do it on a larger scale." I think my strength is one-on-one with students and it was painful for me to realize that I wasn't going to see students that much. So I made myself believe if I could somehow survive this, I could have an impact on 10, and 20, 50, 80, 2000 students as opposed to just 1 by my role at the table in that building. In some ways that was very true, but it was still very hard for me to be so far removed and my main student contact was with student leaders and/or with student discipline issues. It's a big range. I didn't see much of the students in between.

In February of that first year it began to be a different shape. I don't know if I exerted myself or I went home and talked with my father and my mother and mentor about what I was and wasn't doing. It all began to take a different shape and slowly but surely I was given some very clear and specific responsibilities: student activities operation and public safety became my responsibilities as it were. Those two operations worked through me. I began to shape them, set those agendas, began to work hard with the

selection and training of the people we hired in the public safety department....

The university had some problems with the folks they were hiring who were young, inexperienced, confused, bigoted, on and on, sexist. And we had to make some serious changes with respect to how our department looked and how they were trained in professionalism up there.

Major education for me around the difficulty of being a police officer on the line as those people become all the things we hate. They become apartheid, they become CIA, they become the Department of Defense. It was very difficult to see individuals that I had encouraged to apply and recruited get spit on, kicked. I lived through divestment at B., [other incidents], riots. And I remember how difficult it was to arrest students who were demanding that the university divest from South Africa. I remember how important it was that after those arrests, because of trespassing after 5 o'clock, that I couldn't allow that issue to die when we went back to [administration building]. And then I did all that was in my power to bring those people into that building at the table in an acceptable way to create change. That became sort of my role for the next two or three years. It's that issues that escalated into protests and/or arrests; I became the liaison or the avenue for them to be brought to the table. I worked very closely with [Anti-discrimination authority] around [several issues]....

The role that one chooses either by virtue of their morals or values or by the vacuum sometimes can be exhausting. It was sometimes hard to be one of the few people who saw things from a certain perspective because it was beginning to track me that way, that I talked about wanting to avoid [minority focus]. We get to an issue and people would turn to me when I could also talk about budgets and management. So I thought about trying to convince my boss, and I think successfully, that he had to look at the diversity of his staff so that I wasn't the only voice.... From what I've seen pretty soon what happens is you're overlooked when it's promotion time because they say, "Oh yes, so-and-so is great, but mostly he just deals with [minority issues]." I saw that, I see that happen a great deal....

I guess [other Black administrator and faculty] saw a lot of themselves in me and knew what I was struggling with without having to talk about it: being Black professionals and administrators at predominantly White institutions. What they did was allow me to - directly or indirectly - relieve myself of that frustration by being an ear, but at the same time support me and respect my position and what I had to offer as a professional, not allow me to become completely frustrated and ineffective in that.

I became the political liaison to the legislators in [city], lobbying for legislation during the Reagan administration that we weren't successful with usually, but

very valuable.... So I spent a lot of time learning a lot about the structure of the state and slowly began to understand the politics of the regents and trustees and how things are done. I took also on the role of becoming [vice president's] chief of staff with respect to assignments for the people who work for him....

She [Black mentor] made me believe that I could be a part of a developing, a viable institution that was looking seriously about changing itself. Whether that was in civility or the way the curriculum was designed or endorsing and accepting differences, she made me believe that I could be a part of that. And not only be a part of that, but it was clear that there was a lot that I could learn from it. ...And I did. I think a lot of it had to do one, with E.[Black administrator] and two, with N.[vice president] who said to me very clearly, "I need on my staff someone who has a student affairs education, experience, and belief."...

...The hard part was typical things: people didn't know, people didn't understand, people were pissed that N. had to go outside of the student affairs division to find this assistant. There were tons of people who wanted this job right there. He went out to [state] to get somebody: "Who is this guy? Oh, number one he got it because he's Black." It started all over again. So the whole thing of proving yourself to the point where I knew that the very first exterior program that N. asked me to take hold of was the student affairs division has it's own convocation.... I looked at the file and in the past it had been kind of an okay program. Program was something that I had some knowledge and skill and interest. I turned convocation into one hell of a program: from tablecloths to guest speakers to invitations, I mean it was a big event. I remember after the event N. and I went out. He said, "You don't look so good. It was a big success." I said, "N., there are people who are angry that it was successful." He said, "Uh-huh. You're going to witness that, you're going to have to survive that. There will always be people who want to see you fail. Some for issues of race, some for issues of personal fear of themselves, some for issues of incompetence, some just to put on power." There are people in the division who were literally angry, I mean blatantly told me, who in the hell did I think I was that I started the event on time. "We never start on time. We wait for everyone to get here." That kind of thing. "Yeah, it was okay, but last year it was this because we didn't have this kind of support from -" And just on and on....

I really believed that it would be embraced and endorsed. There were people that were pissed and who I think set about trying to dismantle my new found power and authority. There were minority people - and I'm sure you heard some of this - who questioned who you are if you aren't the who that they want you to be. They began to label and discredit and that's always painful. What is interesting to me is that the majority population assumed

that that's like the most horrible thing in the world that could possibly happen. That happens every day with White people who are dismantling and disrupting and trying to discredit people. People see it all of a sudden - that's that whole notion again that we all know each other and live together and will always support each other. I said, "Why is this so shocking that this is happening. It happens to you if you're so and so." Again, the subtle pieces of institutional racism.... We talked about regardless of how it comes, the pressure of being valued, the weight is still the same. It's still very real in a way that I think other minorities understand but not completely. And probably the closest group of people to understand may be women. ...That people instantly judge - and I think in this order: Black, male, and then L. I think I've written a number of papers in undergraduate about that and in philosophy class I think I wrote two papers about how I see myself and how others see me. That's the first time I think I realized that people didn't see me: L., male then Black, or L., Black, then male. People saw me: Black, male, and then L. I have people come in this office everyday who have stopped breathing or have to catch their breath because either from a letter I've written them or conversations on the phone - I don't know what they expected but when they walk in you can just see it: "Oh my God, he's Black." There were a few of us at the university that had a very good time with the fact that there was a progression of financial aid, housing, and then my room in the [president's office]. [Names of Black administrators in each of those offices], we had a great time with the fact that people would run to A. and say, "I want to see so-and-so in charge," and they just loved it because had to send them upstairs to me. And B. would call and say, "I got one coming for you." And of course they want to see A.'s boss because obviously this person didn't know what they were doing. It stopped with me. There were things around financial aid that stopped with me. There were things around housing stopped with me. It was clear that they had this hard time with some ignorant Black assistant downstairs and they wanted to see the boss, and "Oh shit, the boss is Black too."... It's sometimes humorous, mainly humorous only when there are people like A. and B. or a number of people who were in the system and or laugh and survive with you, but when those numbers begin to dwindle, it wasn't funny anymore; it was just exhausting....

People check you out. So that came from outside the immediate staff. The immediate staff really didn't present that kind of problem except for the first few months because all the staff wanted the job. I didn't know that until I took the job. She told me point blank that there were people outside of the office who wanted the job that just came by to visit, you know, they'd check you out. That was the first six months. It was clear to me that one, this wasn't a completely shaped job, and two, there were people who were there who could have done it and wanted to know why

the hell they didn't get it. What was so special about this guy that he got it. And I wasn't that special, I just happened to be the guy that the boss felt he wanted....

My goal as a professional was for people to respect the work that I do and to feel that they have been treated fairly. If they choose to like me then it's an additional piece but it is no longer important to me. I have a very close family and I have friends that I value. I don't need anymore friends. One, it's too much work; it's a lot of work to have a lot of friends. So I don't need people to like me. I don't want to sound arrogant or flip about that but that's the best way I can describe it. Because if you go out trying to get people to like you, one, you're going to always disappoint somebody, probably yourself, and two, you're probably not going to do your job. My goal is for students and people on this campus to respect this office and hopefully respect me. More than that, to feel like they've been respected and treated fair. So I began to do those things because I felt they were important personally and for me professionally....

I realized that after seven years there's a piece missing and that's that formal community you talked about. I'm not a fraternity person, I'm not really a group person, but I know there's something about who we are that - and I don't want to make assumptions about all Black people - but there some sort of connector that's valuable to us that I want to pull together Black professional men in this area to talk about. And I've been to D.C. and there's a concerned Black men, a national organization that I'm going to - to use their national agenda to see if we can shape an agenda for this area to see if there's a way for us to contribute and to be there for each other formally.

[On leave to C. college for one semester as acting Dean of students] I think the C. experience was unique mainly in that there are so few people minority people in the state that the number on campus was even smaller than most campuses, and probably for the first time in my career I played a very direct and purposeful role for the minority students on campus. ...I started on the 14th of January, with the 15th being Dr. King's birthday. And M. being one of the few states that does not recognize the holiday, myself and two students and two faculty members held a moratorium on classes and did some things specifically around Dr. King and his birthday... Very well received. Embraced by actually the entire campus. It was my second day on campus but the dean was leaving and I had talked about that in December and sort of began preparing that. It was very well received because of the people there at this institution were very much upset by C.'s neglect of the holiday. I'm not sure why the trustees and the president and the faculty made the assessment to have classes that day, but they did and I don't think many people were pleased by it. Of course a lot of people would have chosen to have a holiday and not be there at all, but since we had a

captive audience we chose to do a number of things: video tapes to speakers to some group discussion about the civil rights movement and Dr. King and the holiday and the debate in congress. Other than that the experience at C. really was probably the least - and maybe it was because the short amount of time - but probably the least pressure felt with respect to being a minority on a predominantly White institution. I'm not really sure if some of it was the size. The school was only 600 in enrollment and with faculty and staff maybe 80 total.

[Dean of Students position at D.] Well I was nominated, and I applied with some hesitation because, as I said, I wanted to look at a terminal degree and/or doing an associate dean or an assistant vice president type of position next. To develop some things further around management style and supervision, take in some more knowledge about budgetary issues in a less than the top position opportunity.... I kept coming back [for interviews], and coming back, and coming back, and finally ended up being the president's choice. It came down to three folks and I'm not sure how she made her choice. I'd like to believe it was a couple of things. One of them was directly related to my experience here in the [area] and at the university, and how that experience in the [area] colleges could help me in the things we had to do here at D. college.... Also because the president knew the people she was calling when she got the references; in a way that's nice to know when you make a reference check.... I think she had a qualified pool and I can tell you that the closer I got the more surprising it became that I was being considered so favorable. But here I am....

The first year was action packed. We had an incident around racist graffiti... attacking lesbians, gays, Blacks, Hispanics, Jews. That was followed by harassment of a Black woman for two or three months by someone who we never were able to uncover. That was followed by a takeover, a suicide, a termination from someone on this staff, and maybe I've suppressed the rest of it. It didn't give me the opportunity to evolve the way most of us would dream about, to sit back and watch for a few months or a semester.... The first month, for the first time in ten years, we were full in our residential system and the college never had to deal with overflow population before. So all these tests were thrown out the first seven to eight months. According to the boss and I guess the population, I guess I passed most of those, mainly because of the experience at the university. Those kinds of tests came daily at B. The big difference was at the university; there was a larger staff....

Being a senior officer with a group that had been together for some time also was a challenge. The president, the dean of faculty, the director of development, the treasurer, the dean of students, make up the senior staff. All of them had been working together for some time. I was

the new person coming in, learning the language, feeling the pressures of being young, new, in your own mind at least, inexperienced, slowly evolving to the realization that in fact this group and other people on the campus looked at you as the expert in your area and you had to produce. The challenge of course is that there were segments of the populations who felt of course that I was hired because of my race and were less than pleased about it. There was a segment of the population that felt I was hired because of my race and that I was okay. There was a segment that felt I was hired because of my race and that I was their dean. Mainly students, the minority students felt very clearly that in their mind in some way, at last there was a presence and this person was their spokesperson and would be theirs and theirs alone when in fact, I thought I was hired to be dean of all the students. It created not an insurmountable challenge, but just another exhausting piece to everything else....

I think the whole population was waiting to see who I was in respect to that piece: the majority population, the staff, the faculty. I think what I began to do was meet with individuals which is my style. One of the things I did was set up an advisory board with students and listen to them and was able to get to know people one-on-one. I began to meet with student organizations, one of which was a student organization that represented minority students to let people see that I was visible, accessible to all groups on an equal basis. I also made it clear that I was a member of that group of people and I did have a special interest and affinity for what they had chosen as far as attending a majority population institution. I did most of that with minority students one-on-one. Then I began very clearly in my charge to the people who work in student affairs the responsibility I felt that they had in respect to diversity. I talked a little about that yesterday in regard to not allowing people to assume that Carlton [interviewer] and [other names] may be Black: we'll deal with those things. A student of color or any student should be able to stop into anyone's office and be able to deal with and have any issues that they have addressed. I had no illusion that everybody was equipped to do that. I was prepared to train people and provide people the opportunity to improve themselves in that way. I think that produced a sense from people that it was not going to be my major agenda but that it was going to be a part of the fabric that we were about, and that they could understand that, and would be evaluated the same way they did for any other part of their job, but they wouldn't be expected to do so in a vacuum. I began to send a real clear message to people....

So continually I put it out there, again to the trustees, my first presentation to the trustees I spoke very clearly about the role of diversity and the college's commitment to those things. Again, in doing so, not, I think putting people into uncomfortable positions, but

framing it within the entire agenda of what we wanted to accomplish. My experience told me and I don't know if it was conscious at the time, that liberal as they may be, they may be more comfortable with a global presentation than a "we must, you have to, I'm going to make this work," that can embrace a concept that sometimes you come apart and not even sure yet what's going on. So that approach evolved....

The biggest challenge for me at D. has not been respect to race but has just been respect to the history. Again, the division is only [relatively new]. Authority and respect and clarity about what the office is, and the painful, painful managerial challenge of limited resources....

So D. is providing for me now probably a professional's dream. It's given me the opportunity to literally shape the student affairs division. I was in charge from my boss to bring to organizational structure and professionalism to the student affairs division. There are days when that challenge is almost unbearable. Mostly that it is what keeps me going, that in reality very few people have the opportunity to help shape something. You usually have to redirect a course that's been set by someone else, or to clean up a mess. But to take an unmolded piece of clay doesn't happen too often, which was my major deciding factor in accepting the position....

[Re: having to terminate a person] That was a unique challenge that also brought clarity about my commitment about who I am with respect to my commitment to race, diversity. The individual was a person of color. He, as well as the college failed miserably in the collaboration of his experience here. He was a new employee and he was on a one year evaluative contract. His supervisors didn't report directly to me but to the assistant dean of residence life. Had worked extensively with him during the fall semester. Having obviously problems he wasn't aware of until one day in early spring when his entire student staff was in my office with a letter of resignation. They were all, 14 of them, going to resign because of - and they listed numerous reasons that needed some evaluation. I chose to hear them, not accept their resignation, but ask them to allow me some time to examine what was going on, see if there was a possibility for some negotiation and improvement. They accepted that. I met with the individual in question. Some of the accusations were a surprise, some of them were confusing, some of them he knew about. He was ready and willing to work to try to improve those. We put in place with the help of the university and some other agencies the kinds of things that this individual needed to improve in the areas he needed to accomplish his job. That's why I talk about the challenge of limited resources. Because of the amount of money we are able to offer for our jobs we can't always attract the individuals that have the experience that is necessary to step into the positions that we want. That's okay if you are then able to hire people

who are possibly able to grow into the job if you have staff that can help them grow. We don't. We hire people and it's like, "Okay, good luck. We'll see you in five months." This individual didn't have the skills or the experience or the capacity to do that on his own. Then we discovered that even with the things we provided for him, he still just wasn't, it wasn't the proper fit. It was not the kind of work that was appropriate for him. We made the decision to terminate before he spent two, three, how ever many years of his life going someplace that really wasn't beneficial to him, helping him to relocate and provide the opportunity elsewhere, supporting him and his family financially with the move. I think a very positive termination.

The challenge came in that why did we hire someone that we weren't going to be able to support. I didn't make the hire; it was made before I came here. I thought that was a valid question and we have re-assessed our selection process. But the minority community, not in mass, but in numbers stood behind this individual and challenged me on the termination. I met with that group and it was very similar to what happened at A. [university] in my eyes, that they felt that this, and this, and this was happening to a minority person. How could I let that happen? And I asked them how they could question a minority professional. No one had asked me about the evaluation process or the supervisory process. The assumption was made that this person was just let go. Then we had a very positive exchange and that group - it was a group that actually I had first pulled together at my house, pulled together a Black faculty and staff group and it was actually a meeting at my house that they began to discuss their concerns. It wasn't to come at me to discredit or attack me but they really were trying to support this individual. Unfortunately I wasn't there so they just heard this individual's half of the presentation. So then when we had a chance to talk as a group, they did send me a letter and I responded in writing and then we met. They were forthcoming in their support, one for me, and two, what we did was begin to look at how we hire people and then can't support them.... I think that what the minority community was saying was that this is not an easy place for a minority male to be, and that's why they came to the support of that person and I said, "Yes, you're right." And I think it hit people.

I think what happens because I'm a senior officer is that every other part of who you are dissipates. Like I as no longer a minority, I was just a senior officer insulated from all of the things. That was an interesting revelation. I think that happened to all of us as we were talking. I think they had forgotten or assumed that I was whatever because I was now senior officer. Those kinds of things didn't bruise or the protection wasn't necessary. That was real interesting, in fact I was talking to a faculty member about it and she said - that's when I had the first public conversation, it was with a minority faculty person - we

both were saying we believe that our next position may have to be at an all Black institution just to find out all those things I mentioned before: "Am I really as competent as I keep hearing? Am I as good as I want to think I am? How nice it would be to have this piece removed from my daily work life." So it was painful at the time, but again I think it was one of the things that helped shape who I am on the campus. And that's okay....

Actually I hired 6 people the first summer I was here. Almost all of them of color. I think people on campus noticed... The boss didn't get too leery thank goodness about all the turnover but I think she and other people were a little concerned when all the new hires were five or six people of color.... My former boss was a woman and we talked very clearly about when she came she lived through some of the same things I lived through. Feminists thought she was theirs; the boys didn't think she could do the job. Very similar kinds of frustration. She told me that when she first got here she made a lot of hires and a lot of them were women and it created some tension. She was in her own way - it took me a while to hear it because I thought it was about something else - was trying to tell me one, either be prepared for whatever comes, be sure about these hires because people were going to question it and test them, and good luck. And she supported all of them. ...The first hire I made, members of the search committee questioned my role in the search to the point where one of the staff members called and asked what the hell I was doing. They had given me who they thought was the person; the other two people were just because I had asked for a number. I had to explain to this individual that they did not in fact hire; their job was to recommend. I was the appointer. I was responsible and accountable for this person, their function, and their _____ at work. I had never been in a place where someone called with that tenacity with respect to - it's the kind of thing you might expect from your boss when you screw up - but this was a staff member from the library, called me screaming about who in the hell did I think I was, why did you make the hire, we told you who was the best candidate....

We, they, like to fancy ourselves as being politically correct whether it's about anti-Semitism, or homosexuality, racism or sexism, we are politically correct. And so the resistance that I felt or witnessed, if it was about race, was carefully couched because of the political correctness and really came through later with respect to youth. A lot of people questioned who and what I was doing based on, "He didn't even know, he's only so-and-so years old. How could he possibly have had this kind of experience?" I can't say that I felt too much of it around issues of race. It was more my age. Some of it indirect, some of it maybe very directly....

People began to take notice very quickly. I'd get calls constantly from segments of the campus about very

difficult issues that I have either shown I can handle, or people now assume I can handle based on other successes.... But I think during that struggle to set some of that change in place, there was more about "He's too damn young, he doesn't know what he's talking about." And that may be, again, as I said, because D. is politically correct that people just know how to couch maybe what was going on. I like to think that I'm pretty savvy with those things and I don't want to imply that I never felt or don't feel or I'm not aware of the fact that that does exist in some ways, but it's not the major piece here, it really isn't. It's more about youth and coming from the state system: "You don't know how privates work," more than being Black....

[Re: being "politically correct" but having very few students of color at D.] That has been D.'s challenge, to live what they preach. I have pushed that. I constantly challenge people when they talk about that. I go: "What does that mean? I don't see that reflected in our enrollment, in our catalogues from photographs, and when I stand up and look out the window I don't see it."...

What I talked about with admissions was, at least in the Black community, some of those sources are the family, the church, and maybe through athletics. I talked about sending direct letters to colleagues I had in major metropolitan areas who could begin to plant a seed about D. for people who were in junior high school and/or college, and at the same time about this college in general.... But what was important to me was not to allow the college to think that minority equalled disadvantaged, or minority meant financial aid, that there are a number of disadvantaged people who are of color and a number of people of color who don't need financial aid or are disadvantaged. And the language was implying some of that in our material. I worked with the editors on campus to change some of that. I said, "You may be sending people away just by this paragraph." They said, "What's wrong with it?" And I had to read it for them and I translated it for them from a Black perspective and they were like, "Oh!" So there were things in their political correctness that the school was hustling to do that resembled pushing people away....

The college put together what it called 'the minority brochure' which I actually didn't support. It went out anyway and I did write a letter for it because the college said they wanted to do that but I would not endorse it until I was sure how it was used. And it's only used when a [minority person] calls and asks, "Do you have anything specific to - " but it's not something that as soon as you walk up to the table it's given to you. I had major concerns about that, about the message it was sending. It was like, "See who we are. We're going to take care of you ..." Especially when I felt like when they got here that wasn't what was true. So I said, "First we have to do this before we go out and recruit these people because they're not going to stay." And that has been where we have put the

energies of student affairs and I think the college has put resources toward that piece. And what's always critical for me was that the work we do in student affairs around those issues either directly or indirectly through programming, will only carry so much weight for the student if they don't hear it and see it and witness it and are challenged by it in the classroom....

One of the trustees out of [city] called me, asked me to come spend the day in [city] to review a proposal that his financial group had received from an entrepreneur around a project that some _____ was trying to develop for the inner city of [city]. He wanted my feedback, my vision, my sense of what the proposal really was about, what it could offer, and would it be accepted. It was very nice. It was, I think, a statement by this trustee that he had seen me work and my approach to my work in a way that he thought was valuable, both from a perspective of who I was as a minority, and who I am as an administrator and who I am as an educator. And that's what he said to me. He said, "This project happens to be about something in the inner city, but I'm asking you to look at this not just from that vision, but also as an administrator and as an educator."...

[Relationship with other Black faculty and staff.] But I have now in the course of two years established and even begun to develop some relationships individually with almost every person of color on the campus. But as a group we've only been able to accomplish a couple of things. One of them is our role with the entering first year minority students and how we mentor for them, how we identify for them, and what we provide in that first week. And Y., this faculty member set up with the orientation office, a way for us to do that with their families when they are here, and then with them as they go through their first year. And for the size of what we are and that being our original agenda that's a major accomplishment. We're not where we want to be with it in total but we're leaps and bounds ahead of where we were before...

[Re: feeling lonely] No, I guess not because of a couple of things. One, because there really is - we're like a family in a lot of ways - a tremendous amount of support. Being on the same floor as the president and dean of faculty doesn't hurt at all, but more than anything I believe it's because I've been in the [area] for seven years and I have established that support from my work the last seven years. I even have people who I worked with from D. before I came here who were already on this campus, that was helpful, S. being one of that. Worked three or four years as dean of students when I was at the university. That probably is why I don't feel a tremendous sense of an island. If I came here from [distant city] it may have been devastating. But I came here from [local area].... And I haven't had the need to develop the kinds of relationships on this campus that most of us do when you go someplace outside. I had what I needed already in the [area]. But I've talked to a

few people, and mainly men of color, and they did come from someplace else and it was hard. It was hard to find a way to connect. One of the things I'm doing is a result of some of that. I think maybe in our next conversation I'm going to set up at my house a concerned Black men's group. We're going to look at one, support for ourselves, and two, what we can contribute to the community. If nothing else to connect people when they come in and out of this place....

I think being dean of students at a small liberal arts institution probably wasn't designed for a Black person. I think being a Black person in a small liberal arts institution in [area] is somewhat fashionable now for institutions. They are very concerned about recruiting and retaining minority students and the major student division is usually the dean of students. So if you can have that in place as it were, a lot of trustees and/or the rest of the college sort of breathes easy: "Ah we took care of that." I think there's some of that at D. as there probably would be at most small liberal arts private institutions in [area]. I don't know if it's all bad because it has opened the door for a number of people to obtain these positions, and then what they do with it is the real challenge. I think those I have in [area] who are Black, we're all surviving and thriving, but we all do talk about the fact that - and we're not sure because we only have one life that we live- but sometimes we just feel like there's always that extra burden of having to prove yourself over and over and over. And I know that I'll have to do it again this semester. I'll have to do it to my new boss. I'll have to do it for our new set of 400 students, another set of parents, plus probably some new faculty members that will come in. But I don't go about trying to prove that to them. I go about trying to do my job and then hopefully the results will be the proof. But I always wonder when people meet me if the clear shock and surprise and amazement in their voice is a result of my age or a result of my color. I guess I'll never know - until I get older. But it's usually, "You're the dean of students? Wow!" That's almost a quote from a range of people.

[What stands out of these experiences] I think the first thing that comes to mind... is that for the first time in my life after four predominantly White institutions ... I really would like to work in an historically Black institution for probably the obvious reasons. One, you want to really test your metal about the competence of people in predominantly White institutions to tell me that you're this or that because of embedded racism or inability to address incompetence because they would be afraid of being seen as racist. That sort of lingers. The ability to maybe actually reach a greater potential because of your energies are directed specific to your work and not to the viewing of the fish bowl that we talked about. I have colleagues that talk about how nice that might be. And then we come down to reality and we know there will still be the politics of the institution. And most of us probably saw, though it was a

stress in a number of ways, we saw Spike's presentation of School Daze and the ongoing struggle within any ethnic group about classism. But there are days when that seems like a welcome rest. The other piece is that I hope and pray, and that's why I stay at predominantly White institutions, is that the work and the works of the Carltons [interviewer] of the world will slowly change that face and there won't be a need in another ten years for someone to do another dissertation on this issue. There won't be this predominance, there won't be this mystique about Black administrators, Black faculty, Black students at predominantly White institutions. The numbers will eventually be affected by the work that people like yourself are doing. Or the work that people like I'm doing. So that those numbers will reach a different balance, a 60-40 or even a 70-30 would probably be nice, but my guess is probably more like 90-10 or 80-20 if we're lucky, or probably even the other way, 95-5. I guess those are the two things.

I think there are days that we all [question our ability]. I've reached a goal professionally a lot faster than I ever expected to, and so there are days when you think, "How did this really happen? Am I really that good?" A lot of it is timing; it's a number of things. But what I think what makes me push and excel to the level that I have is that I do always continue to question certain parts of my abilities and skills...It's more than feeling a sense of inadequacy. I think that the women's movement is talking about it from a gender perspective but when I read about it it sounded very familiar for me and maybe for a lot of men. The 'imposter syndrome' is a new piece of literature where there are those who continue to think that we really got something but we didn't deserve it and they're going to find us out. So sometimes I need to strip away all the mystique of being Black in a society that still harbors a lot of either guilt or bigotry and just form a nakedness, get a true assessment from me....

I've been in this area for some seven years and though it provides a tremendous amount, there seemed to be something that was lacking for me. I talked to a couple of my colleagues, men who are Black, and what I found was by virtue of our work and our personal loads of choices and responsibilities, that we were starting to slowly eliminate personal relationships with men. I mean real relationships, not 5, 10, 15 minutes of catching up, real relationships with men. I had realized that my best friend is in [distant state], the next two [distant city] and one in [distant city]. And I have a number of colleagues here but at certain points you're either exhausted or too busy. You don't develop real in-depth relationships that you might through a fraternity or an athletic experience or whatever. And I was beginning to realize that there were a number of other people who were starting to feel the same way, mostly

whom I know. So I proposed, and there were just a few of them who endorsed it, that we began to look at a group that meets. And the first meeting will be to determine which the track will be - maybe it will be both - a group that meets just as a support group for each other, for social reasons, for professional reasons, or two, a group that provides and gives something back to the community in an organized fashion.... And I'm not sure it's going to give me the kind of thing that I felt was missing at the point when the idea came up. But it was sort of a two pronged thing: one, trying to find a sense of community for myself with other Black men, professionals would be nice but not necessarily so, academically professionally would be nice but not necessarily so. That's where we're going to start because that's the people I know, Black professional men in higher education is where the first invitation will go. And in that invitation I will ask people to invite whoever else they'd like to. And then at the first meeting we'll also talk about how broad should this be. And the second part for me was I wanted to feed that sense of social responsibility of giving back and sometimes it's easier or more effective if you're in a group than just an individual. I do things individually in terms of giving back. I sat on the board for [education group] and I officiate basketball here in [the area]... but it is sort of a physical and emotional release and also sort of a small but I think maybe valuable return to the community.... I want to continue to find ways that I can give back. And there are other things that I do, dealt with the Rainbow Coalition, but I want to maybe have a quicker or bigger impact and sometimes in numbers that's more do-able. That's my genesis behind the Concerned Black Men and I'm looking forward to that this fall....

I really believe that the perception of folks I've talked to and when I examine myself is that you spend so much time trying to prove it or yourself at work, that when you leave you really just want personal time. You don't engage yourself as much as you'd like to in the community....

[Advice to a young Black male seeking employment in higher education.] Really know yourself. Really know your agenda for involvement in higher education. We will be tested, pressed politicians, legislators, trustees, faculty, staff, students, know their agenda and know your strengths and your weaknesses. Know your limitations. I think more than anything else understand that the business is about education, whether it's in the form of classroom or it's the person who's on the house staff.... Know that in your mind or in your heart anyway, that, I believe that it is a cornerstone to all that can happen not only any more just in the Black community, which was my first vision, and then for this town, and I think for the world because the world is becoming a smaller and smaller place, that education plays a very very important role in all of that. And if you have a

belief and a passion for that, I think it can be an exciting place to be. It is a very, very exhausting profession. It is not one - maybe someday, but I'm not sure about all that - it is not one that rewards handsomely, financially, but that rewards other ways, not always in abundance. And I guess more than anything else I wouldn't recommend someone come in to this business with the notion that they're going to be recognized for their incredible contribution and their worth. What happens really is you just get sucked up. It's like a sponge; people absorb all that you have and just take and take and take, and every now and then someone gives something back. When we think about our college experiences, we took from people who were there. We gave something to them indirectly but we couldn't name it as a student. So as a professional you have to understand that this business is just about people taking from you and you have to think of yourself in some ways as a sponge. You absorb so much and then you're going to get it squeezed right out of you. You can determine who squeezes and how hard and how often the squeeze happens though....

So I've toyed with the idea of what it would be like to be an consultant for higher education, mainly in student affairs. A novel idea, I don't think anyone has ever hired a consultant that - and I could have used one when I came here. I could have used an outside person with just energy toward on specific goal that first semester to do this. Toyed with the idea of becoming a head hunter for higher education; going out and doing executive recruiting for presidents and/or for deans. I think the cost of, financially and otherwise, that is incurred when we get less than a match is very costly for the student. It's hard to fire people. It's important to try and get a match. I think I have a real sense about what education is and about what people and institutions can give to each other....

I think it's also a business that's politically correct in a lot of ways. You can sleep at night knowing that you aren't just robbing people's coppers as people say about big business, which I'm not sure is always true. But it is work that although people don't always understand what you do when you tell them you work at a college or university, it produces this strange sense of respect....

APPENDIX D

PROFILE 4: K.

Director of Public Safety at a predominantly White private university for 16 years. Highest degree earned: bachelor's.

Interview:

K: [Director of Public Safety at A. University] As a total administrator at this university, I've worn numerous hats unofficially.... I've learned over the years that I have something to offer for each segment of this population and I can do it in a manner that doesn't cause an alarm.... And I have no prejudices anyway. That I'm doing it because of a cause, because I'm Black and I need to do it. It's just in my nature to reach out to people. I don't care what your problem is, and I tell all these kids in this entire university I have an open door policy. In regards to the nature of your problem, I should be able to, if I can't solve it, at least send you to someplace where you can. It's just being in this environment, you learn more than just what your normal routine daily duties are. You learn every aspect of campus life. And you have some input. I don't know about other universities but I serve on numerous boards here: athletic control. I'm not an advisor to anybody because of conflict of interest but I'm on the dean's council, one of the policy making boards for the university. And you spend all your time in meetings. You have to be diversified and not just narrow minded and have expertise in one field. Because the expertise you have affects the whole community. And it means learning about all the departments and how they function and how you can have some input. A lot of the major jobs on campus, I'm usually on the interview board, even for the vice president....

[I do this] by my choice. I accept my responsibility but on a campus this size with the minority population as is, you find yourself having to reach out and do more things. You have a vested interest.

I was perceived in different ways. I was taught little mannerisms and a lot of people down South when I was growing up you were told not to display certain things because we consider that Uncle Tom, sunshine, grinning, smiling. To project yourself in a certain way, to be serious about what you're doing. I didn't talk to a lot of people; I was here to do a job. I didn't act buddy-buddy here; people didn't know me. Some people felt I had the capability but they were trying to figure out the personality of the man. "Where is this guy coming from? Is he mean?" I appeared to be rude, mean. But once I talk to you you see there's another side here. We all have those walls and we learn

certain characteristics and project certain things to protect yourself. I'm not going to let myself be subjected to being 'sunshine' or Uncle Tom. I'm not even going to put myself in a position to let you even think about doing something to me. Like I said, it's that wall I build up. I think I was the biggest thing people had to get around, people said, "You need to smile." Those types of things. So I think it was just dealing with the personality. People wanted to see if there was another side to me. It began to show once I became sure of what I was doing, and if I was being accepted as what I was doing. Was I being used as a tool. I had to feel I was in complete control over the housing, in complete control. You're telling me to do this job, and you're telling ME how to do it. I don't need your input from 99 ways. I might accept some of them but you got to accept what I want to do with the job, what I perceive, and what direction that I want to head in. I want to go from being a guard service to what I think this department should be. I don't want to be stagnated. I want people to accept me for the position and authority that I have which poses some problems in my [career] infancy.

[For example] An order that you're not supposed to be in this building at such-and-such time at night, so you're not supposed to do this. University rules and regulations prohibit you from it. "Well who in the hell do you think you are professor so-and-so?" In other words, "I'm not going to comply." Security patrols certain areas. The professor wants to do it his way. No, it has to be done this way. Well that's the way it is, that's the policy. If you don't like it you just leave. There's no need for us to sit here beating up on each other. You go see my boss. That's the turning point. If you can't deal with me and this man has hired me and told me to do this job and you got to run to him, well get out. "K. are you doing the right thing? That's all I want to know." And then they found out they couldn't backdoor me. But those little things where people will test you, trying to keep you in your place. So that was one obstacle I had to overcome....

Well you know politically you're supposed to be in certain camps. I was neutral to everybody. In other words I refused to be swayed by any group, by any one person. My biggest obstacle was overcoming the man who controlled the students. He didn't like me and I didn't like him [dean of students]... Not due to any prejudices or anything, that he felt that there was somebody else that he wanted in this job. He tried to block the appointment, he tried other things. And I'm not so quite sure if administration knew all that was going on but I took on the task myself to defeat, I'm going to be 100% man about this. I'm going to lock this job in. I want this job and I'm going to do it. And there ain't nobody going to beat me up. All the hurdles to overcome.

The first challenge: I.D. equipment. All the equipment was maintained and serviced were out of his office

[Dean of Students]. He couldn't get his way, he decided [K.] is up and running, they can do it. Not going through any superiors or anything. I refused. Even the president told him to back off. I needed assistance in my office, he's not going to do it. So then the president called me in, knowing I'm a bigger man than most people. I'll take on the task. No more said. He knows where I'm coming from. You gave me the job. What you want me to do, I'll do. But do it in a way where you're being a man about it. I guess this is one for me and one against him....

These kids, the thing that really brought them around my first year on the job, they wanted to bring Mr. Shockley on campus. It was ugly at that time. We had had the Kent State incidence. The vets were here raising hell.... We had strikes. Everything was going on. These kids, they gained a lot of confidence in this department. I don't care if they took over a building, they would come and say, "We're going to do this at such-and-such a time. This is how it's going to go off. We're going to work with you. We're not going to tear up the place; we got to prove our point." One of those types of things. I'll go back, and "I want it this way, and this way." Let them do their thing, as long as they're not going to tear up the place, right....

Anyway, back to Shockley. Came hell or high water. the student government was going to have him anyway. The Black students were raising hell.... I collected all my data, put it in writing. Manpower analysis. The whole scenario. I came in and they were going at it tooth and nails. I passed out my literature and we talked. I said, "One of the things was how did Shockley get in and out of [other college] without getting injured?" Because you got to guarantee the man's safety. You want to guarantee the safety of the people in attendance, and you don't want any property damage. So how are you going to get this man in and out of this campus? You know the lecture hall is in the middle of the campus. How are we going to do this? Block off everything? I said, "You know [other college] has a network of underground tunnels in the whole city of [name]. This man came in underground. These are walking tunnels that are all over the city. The man came in through a tunnel, up in a building, back out of a building, down through a tunnel. Never went through any crowds. Secondly, do you know how many police persons were on duty?" I gave them the figures. "Between my department and the city ... we can't come up with no where near the manpower."... Even if he could muster the manpower and augment it with other towns, you got to pay . And they're not going to get _____ on campus, not when other people are having the same problems.... So you got a manpower problem, a safety problem, and now you got an intelligence network _____ the information that I heard about what's going on, and how the community is mobilizing against you. So everybody's scratching their head. To make a long story short, we couldn't afford it. We couldn't guarantee his safety. So the president said, "I

think I got the right man for the job." So I got one foot in the door.

Later on, upward mobility and service to this community. That's just half of it [pointing to awards received]. "Administrator of the Year." But it's a personal approach. I don't beat up on these students. I tell them, explain to them, it's a part of the educational process. We both can learn. We both might have to learn at the same time, but there are always compromises and whatever we got to do, we got to do it with your safety guaranteed, our personnel's guaranteed, and we can do it in a manner where you don't have to spend your whole budget. So the kids come to me with problems....

But you have to understand people are standoffish, people are afraid, people don't believe. A brand new department the first five or six years, they begin to learn you, you begin to learn them. You got to build up that trust. Once you build up that trust, I think it works....

C: So as the institution grew, it grew to the point where the institution started to have vice presidents. Now you report to the vice president of

K: Finances, which is even better.

C: What's that relationship like? Is that a person that was here for a while/

K: No he comes from a business, corporate business. He's a businessman.

C: So what then has that relationship been the last seven years with you?

K: Excellent. Upward mobility has been since he's been here as far as turning things around, as far as salary wise, equipment wise....

[Re: trying to increase the number of Blacks on campus, including his staff] I'll simply say I'll let statistics speak for themselves when it comes to my department. It's 50-50. I think some of my superiors felt that I would be accused of doing things, some of the things you just mentioned, by hiring all Blacks, so they sort of encouraged me to want me to know that that is not the case, that I won't be viewed in another light except that I'm hiring qualified people....

C: What about the larger campus? You sat on significant search committees, professional searches.

K: There's been an improvement on the staff side, administrators, the last three to four years. The numbers have grown. Of course we have a lot of part-time professors that are not physically here all the time. They teach in the evening or they come in; they're in transit. Full time professors, Blacks, we're out there beating the bush just like everybody else. I've read that there are not a lot of Ph.D.'s coming out, and those numbers are down. And those that do, go on to the bigger universities where the salaries are larger. This is a small university....

I would say there are probably at least 15 Black administrators on campus now. As a matter of fact we have a

Ph.D. who's running the evening division we hired. This is his second year.... But that's the only way we find them. A person who has other expertise but wants to be an administrator. You don't find too many of those....

[Establishing rapport with students] Those mixers, those meetings, those special events, those football games, those basketball games, being there, talk to them, walk in their office, they walk in my office. I speak to everybody. I stop and talk to them. I don't think it takes any special talent, it just takes a person who's a people person, who respects other people. Like I said, I just grew up that way, and those little things I learned I apply. A lot of things I do, it's just a common sense approach. Common sense dictates that you do certain things. And I try to teach these kids here. I mean I stop these kids all the time. I might get 10 football players, I'll walk up to them and start talking to them. "Why do you have your cap on backwards?" and I get their ear. I said, "You know what, if you had your cap on backwards when I was growing up, some grown person would come up and wack you across the head." I said, "Why do people wear their cap backwards like that?" I said, "Do you know what Uncle Tom is? When we worked in the fields and had no choice, the sun would burn the back of your neck. You turn your cap backwards to keep the sun off. You got to begin to learn something about your history. You have to know your heritage....

I'm one to come in in the morning, and I'm busy, and I try to knock off all the paperwork so I can free myself up, to go on what I call my hours. Sometimes that might be just two buildings. I walk in and speak to all the secretaries. I might see something out of order, and I'll remind them if that's a problem, all these cords, you're going to trip and fall. Why don't you call maintenance, see if we can't reroute this wiring, get another plug in. Or, "Why is your purse sitting on your desk and you're not in your office? And if you're going to do that, why don't you lock your door?" Just routinely, "How's your husband doing?" Just keep aware, make people feel comfortable that there's somebody around and they feel secure working in their job.... I do things where I can leave here at 3 o'clock and go off to a football practice.... I go over here and talk with the defensive quarterback, just so they know who I am. And that I'm here, I'm not just what you think I am. I'm here. If you should have a problem. I mean coaches. We got a new coach here last year. I was on the board that selected him. And I told him how I work....I said, "I come to practice a lot. I come walking around. Don't get offended. I'm not looking for anybody. I like football. Your kids know who I am, I know who they are. They see me now....

I think I'm self motivated sometimes. I find a way to motivate myself.... I have to discuss certain things and say I'm going above and beyond to secure the job. You have to

let people know that you're interested. You can do it in so many ways....

[Re: mentoring] First of all let me say that sometimes this places me in a very precarious situation. Nine times out of ten I have some problems we can discuss, come to some agreement, and I can have some input in. But there's still those that I sit down and converse with about matters, even some that are confidential and those that are not so, I must state my position that there are a lot of things that I can do to help you reach your goal. I may not be a front runner for you but I can give you support, knowledge-wise and help you mobilize the troops which is an on-going thing for us [Black people]. We do have to huddle together. Nine times out of ten it might be just how we retain the students or how we get additional people on board. Some problems that reflect directly on us as a group and how can we best handle that and manage it. And it is true. I guess I am the senior minority on campus, Black, and I am confronted with a lot of problems, be it minority students in general, Black students, just like I said, problems when I'm dealing with the administrators. And it has direct impact on us and maybe on the campus as a whole....

A couple of years ago - and once in a while I have to wear two hats - the Black student union came to me and they had run into some problems. They had invited Benjamin Hooks as a lecturer for the Black history month. It seemed like everything was falling apart at the seems. Checks wasn't being cut, professional itinerary was not given to me for security reasons. They didn't have proper funding to receive this man at the university that a man of this magnitude should receive. I still have a press conference, proper transportation to and from the airport. Once he gives his lecture, treat the man to a nice dinner and invite a few people on campus, especially those that are in minority positions along with the students, and some key administrators. None of this was working out. I simply said, "What do you need? What do you think you want to do?"... So the first order of business for me was go directly to the top. I said, "Look, I got a problem here. We need somebody to do something about it... To do all those things we talked about, to go out and have 30 people at a dinner after he spoke here on campus. The university picked up the tab. But sometimes you get in those situations and you need somebody to come knock on the door for them....

I go back to my mentors and I know for a fact there isn't a Black man out there who got from point A to point B solely on his own, without some implementation, some directions, some finances from our counterparts, Whites. So until you understand that some of these people are just as compassionate as long as you do what you have to do, I don't think you have to stoop, not in these days and times, to those kinds of tactics anymore. Occasionally yes, you got

to show your wrath, but not on a consistent basis. I think you just alienate people....

[Regarding a problem with a fellow Black Administration] I have problems when people say, "Well I'm going to pay \$1500 for this guy to speak." I say, "Well why would you do that? Right down in [local college] Dr. N. He said he would come and speak to the university. If you want him to come to speak, I'll speak for nothing." Here's a man that's written numerous books and just published another one. Why don't you tell him to be your guest lecturer instead of bringing in somebody who was prominent in the sixties, who doesn't have a good following anymore, and it's going to cost you an arm and a leg. That money would best be spent towards doing something for these kids on campus. But it's not a real conflict, it's just trying to open eyes to do more with what you got and still accomplish a whole lot. And take that money that you have and use it to do more towards other students. I don't know, I guess I've learned. I had good mentors. So what I'm trying to do is just pass it on. But then I come in conflict because I'm a know-it-all. Well you stay in your area and I'll stay in mine. So I'm taking a back seat.'

C: What support system do you have for yourself?

K: [Local colleges], [area] association, national association, the local police department, the state police department.

C: I'm thinking more of a support for you as a Black male administrator.

K: I've been here so long by myself, it isn't within these walls so much. A lot of my support comes from an organization called Omega Psi Phi fraternity. We have lawyers, superior court judges, one supreme court judge, state employees, upper management level. Those things that I need to do my homework, I don't have to expose myself sometimes on this campus. Statistical analysis, budget problems. Especially when I first started on the job, you don't want to give yourself certain kind of exposure, so it was good that I had those people in that organization that would sit down and afford me a couple hours, a couple of times come here and demonstrate, teach me some business aspects. I would say on campus there's usually other minorities, White females, deans of students, which we have a couple of.... We seem to hold together a lot which I think unique in the aspect that sometimes you look around and say, "What the hell's going on?" But I understand and they understand that we have a genuine need to huddle because of the exposure to some of the same things.

I would say that the first five years were alone. There were some insecurities. Knowing where you're accepted for who you are. Then you build up a wall around you. And once I felt I had one foot in the door and I was being accepted, then I started reaching out.

C: Within those first five years was there anyone reaching out to you?

K: Yeah, but I was always trying to decipher if it was genuine or if it was just one of those pat on the backs which can make you totally insecure sometimes. It's not so lonely now. There are enough of us where I can walk into a building and at least find one or two. Prior to that it was lonely, my first five years before we started bringing minorities into other jobs. I had a boss one time who used to tell me he should pay me per diem for all the searches I was on because there was nobody in a key position top management job that they put on all the searches on campus, including vice presidents. The board picks the president, but the vice presidents, provost, dean of students, key positions at this university: I used to sit on all of those.... Yeah, they needed minority representation, especially with the new laws out now, you have to show there is that type of representation in the search.

Sometimes it still gets lonely. Sometimes you have some problems that you just can't, there's nobody here that, those problems are unique.... It could be so much as political, something happening in my neighborhood. There's nobody that lives in my immediate neighborhood. There's just a lot of problems that I encounter where I live that no one knows about and are not concerned about; it's two different worlds. In other words, if I want to discuss something like that, every employee has friends. They discuss political problems, they joke, this and that. All those things for me you can kick out the window. I don't tell jokes, I don't listen to jokes. Neighborhood concerns, neighborhood problems, things that affect me in [city]. I wouldn't even waste my time trying to discuss it with everybody. They're out of tune with that. I guess you would say I live in [area] which is still a predominantly Black neighborhood. Some boards I sit on in [city], the [X] restoration project, I'm a board member.... Of course the university loves for you to serve on boards outside of campus, it's good publicity. I don't think they're concerned about the type of work we do....It's just two different worlds from work environment to my living environment. So the day to day issues that I'm in contact with in my neighborhood, I leave them. I wish there were [someone to talk with] because everybody likes to have somebody to converse with some, not just in general, but specifically those problems that affect you most.

I think that's why I can identify with so many problems here because I'm still in that neighborhood and I see how these kids grew up and how they come. Even if you didn't attend school here, I can identify with them. It's just the small things that you really have problems with. Your mode of dress, your appearance and all. Everybody knows you're different. I accept it, and I think it's to my advantage a lot....

By being me. I think what they really wanted was a Black person on this job. I've had a chance to surmise everything that's going on. I had a good friend who

graduated from the university about the same time I did.... He is given the job, the salary. You see a change in his mannerism, his attitude about his own people. And I recognize it right away: corporate world Brogan shoes, two and three piece suits with cuffs. I think he went in to that job trying to be something he wasn't. What they wanted was a Black person. He changed his image. They recognized it. They no longer wanted him with the company. So I'm no fool, put on airs and try to change the way I speak. You take me like I am and that's it. So I recognize those things. Some things you're going to do not being yourself can hurt you and hinder you. I think I'm most affected by being a Black person. When I can show compassion, regardless to what it is, to whom it may be. I think it takes a special kind of person. I used to idolize Martin Luther King. I'm not one to turn both cheeks, but I am one to try to make it all work....

I think I've reached in a short period of time an attainable goal.... I think I happened to be in the right place at the right time. I never can see that in a short period of time that I would reach a goal that I thought was unattainable at this university. By me continuing my education, by my being here, and by people that were here prior to me but went on to attain higher goals, left me in a position for that to become a reality. It was very hard to step in there. That's when you have to go back and seek counseling from your in-laws, your wife, your special friends, people in professional organizations who have taken their initial step. There's always that little doubt: "Can I handle it? Can I do it and do a good job and not embarrass me and my family, my community?" That's exactly what I did, I went to seek counsel. All those people told me that I was self-motivated, that I was attaining the education, and I seem to be one who would always go just that one step farther.

Professionally I think I haven't reached my plateau. I think I'm still climbing a mountain. Should there be a larger school, keep myself in a position where if there's an opening I'm prepared to move on. I'm just not satisfied with being middle of the road. I think I have the potential to even go further in this field....

I think I have a better insight to deal with a wealth of problems because you can't research the law. And the contacts you make in this field are unbelievable. I think as a Black man it's very unique that one obtains those goals, obtains that information, the experience and the network. It's a hell of a network. You got director of every law enforcement agency in this United States that for one reason or another at some time, you can always pick up the phone for information, data, then on the other end you're making another contact. To be Black in this field, even across the country, I don't think you can count 100 people who hold the same title. It's very unique. And I won't say there aren't a lot of good cops out there, but a

lot of good cops, they will never attain, get to that level where they are number one cop....

How is it? It's good. I feel good about myself. It's one of those things you feel so good and you look back on the early years to now. You feel so good about yourself that it's something you would want to share with a loved one, like my mother who passed before I obtained my goal. I think that would've made her one of the most proudest ladies in the country, especially being from a small town, a Southerner, coming to a different environment, not knowing a heck of a lot of people, and then to know that you got to where I got on your own merit. Not really that many helping hands. Not that many people that know you, coming to a strange land. A Black man, it's still unbelievable for me, I have to slap myself sometimes....

As a matter of fact you have to keep your head about you because if you don't, those you attain and who you are, you can get out of touch with reality and develop an superiority complex where you think you're better than non-professionals. It [race] doesn't matter. You have to keep your head about you. Not display any arrogance. I take pride in being just a man. I don't have to be, I don't want to be anything other than just a man, a Black man. You see it all the time. Those who are achieving goals look down on others. I think that's one of the reasons I still live in a predominantly Black neighborhood, I still identify with some things. It keeps me in touch with myself....

I think you have a different outlook when you go to suburbia. You're out there and you talk about being lonely. You're going to have a few neighbors scattered here and there, but you lose your identity.... I see it happen too often. And I know it's real when you look around at friends that left, went to suburbia ten years ago. They're looking for apartments now trying to get back in the city. Who do you converse with on a day to day basis if it's not at work? Who do you identify with if it's not at work. And if you're in a place where there's just a few of you scattered around, then who do you talk to? You go back home and it's just you and your family everyday. Do you have any self worth when you don't see anybody you can help on a frequent basis? Little kids on the block, might just be saying the wrong thing, thinking about doing the wrong thing, and you can step off your porch and say, "Hey, that's not the right way." I think it just keeps you in focus....

I think it's a field, if you're interested to reach, obtain goals, the management side of law enforcement I encourage kids. I wouldn't want to be a street cop. I usually direct kids to go for the security side, corporate security, plant security, those types of security versus police work. If you're interested in police work, go to college and get the management skills so you're not on the streets the rest of your life. And then before you even do that, even when you go to college, take a summer job in law enforcement, any field of law enforcement, to see if that's

what you want. If it is, give it a chance the first year, maybe take a core curriculum, a couple of courses, and not go all out until you find out if that's what you really want to do. This is a unique field, it's not for everybody....

C: You were talking about serving on some of the higher councils and committees at this institution.... How well received is your presence at these meetings?

K: Very well received. I serve on the dean's council which meets every Friday at 10:00. We go 45 minutes, half hour, two hours. If you're not there you're going to hear it from the top. "Where were you? We had a very important agenda to discuss, and we needed your input..."

C: Would you say they come to you as the "Black consultant, Black expert?"

K: No because most of these things they've been concerned about have nothing to do with Black people.... [Re: politicking the committee for a minority candidate he felt was more qualified than a White candidate.] And even when it got down to maybe the final interview and people wouldn't say "yes." My thing is "Hell, you took a chance on me, take one on him." Simple. I'm not going to beat you in the head with a stick. You have to do what you have to do sometimes. I won't say I'm overpowering but I've gotten people to listen to me within reason.

C: How has that been received by these other folks?

K: It's received as just being concerned about what they do. I'm just as concerned about what I want to do. You have to call a spade a spade. You don't have to say it to call one a spade. What I'm looking for is results regardless of how unorthodox I am when it comes to those types of things.... I might lose one, but I might win two. You can't win alone, but I got to win my fair share. I don't want to alienate anybody to the point where I can't work or deal. That's what it comes down to sometimes....

[Re: career experience] Overall more good than bad. I've had a small group of supporters that have stuck by me, encourage me to give me that real hope to see it through. Or even when I was in doubt, when all the forces were working against me, just that one little nudge that you need sometimes. So it's helpful. And you need it regardless of where it comes from. Without it I don't know if I would have persevered. I was persevering but I don't know how long it would have lasted. I'm trying to get to the point where I don't take a lot of things for granted and there are more minorities on campus. But I still have potential for growth. I still have to be conscious of my peer groups, that I have to make sure I don't leave that I'm not a know-it-all, belittling, and try to give directions, that I'm try to remain consistent. That I'm here for everybody, and especially those who need me. I feel like I have accomplished something but there's a lot more for me to accomplish. [I feel] a lot more secure of what I'm doing. Like before, not being superior and you're hesitant to make a move. I'm confident now. I don't even think about it

twice, I just make a move. I can do that now. People know that I'm doing it for the right reason. I won't have to explain anything. It's not taken for granted that people know I'm doing what I'm doing. I'm doing it for the right reasons. Regardless of whether they like it or not, they have to respect it. Being able to do that I can say I've accomplished a hell of a lot....

[Re: Changes K. would make if he could] The first job would be to look at the total picture of this university as far as minority employment. How can I get more people through the door? Qualified people. I don't want to do that with quotas where it's unfair. And you can walk around this campus and not have to search for minorities who are in positions to make a change, to make it more comfortable for students who are coming here - especially those minority students - that they have an easy transition. That they have role models and there's somebody I can share this with where I'm not overburdened, where there are enough people to go around. It's just simply making it a real community....

APPENDIX E

PROFILE 5: H.

Director of Minority Affairs at a private college, and 15 years at predominantly White institutions of higher education. Highest degree earned: master's.

Interview:

[Applying for Assistant Director of Admissions at A. college.]

H: B. [Director of Admissions at A.] went around campus telling everyone he met this dynamite minority recruiter and just was extremely impressed. We talked - this interview - the meeting that I had with him alone, lasted about two hours. We were talking about everything. So I think that he really appreciated that and felt that I could really help the program....

...I was the Coordinator of Minority Recruitments, and my first year I brought in 50 minority students which was unheard of. The reception was that there was no way you were going to get 50 students who were minority students in here with the financial aid limitations. But what I did, I got on the phone day and night, and I called the students, I spoke with parents, got them involved, I tried to help them out in every way....

When I first came in, I think B. [director] really reinforced a lot of positive things that he saw me do during the interview. Number one, I was the low man, or the low person on the totem pole so therefore I had to earn my keep. But on the other hand, there were much too many racial overtures made in my direction, be it during staff meetings.... For example, "[H.] will never get fired because we need a minority person working in that position." "Don't bring too many minority students come in [H.], otherwise they'll take over the whole school." I'd get phone calls - this was after my third and fourth year there - phone calls would come in from faculty and if I was the only one in the office at the time they would ask, "Is J. [other admissions counselors] there, is K. there, is L. there?" And the secretary would say, "No, but [H.] is here." They'd hang up the phone. I was always referred to - even though I also worked with White students, I recruited in [state] - I was always seen as only working with minority students, didn't work with any White students at all, no matter how successful I was.... My boss told me that, he said that I had the highest interview conversion of any admissions person there. But again, in spite of these successes that I enjoyed, I was always categorized as strictly being the minority recruiter and not having anything to do with the Whites. So that all these successes

that the admissions office had in bringing in these students, were given to my colleagues, and if any successes at all were given to me it was because the Black students were there. Which is fine, but allow me just to do that then and not work with the White students then....

[Re: incident on campus] So in the final analysis I was told not to become a flag waver for the students, that that would turn off the administration.... For the Black students.... Don't be an advocate for the students, that's not good; you've got to side with us, the administration on every issue. So I was seen as the bad guy because I was constantly going to the student's defense.... And also, when it came time for promotion, for example, I was always accused of having too many students in my office, and therefore I was not doing my work, I was not doing the projects I was supposed to be doing. When in fact, I'm trying to think of what projects he was talking about. Eventually you would see [name] come in and be hired, who supposedly was the low person on the totem pole, move up overnight past me and ready to achieve promotion ... he's White. And [Director] would give me some extra money to keep me happy, pacified. Even as far as becoming an Associate Director of Admissions, it was like dangling a carrot.... The final stab in the back came when [director] told K., who at that time became Director of Admissions, that I could not be trusted as an Associate Director of Admissions.... And I asked K. what he meant by that, and what he meant by that was, I don't side with the administration on enough issues. I don't side enough with the administration on issues. In other words, I was seen to be too 'anti', and I don't think I was 'anti' at all, but he didn't trust me because I was too student oriented, I was too close to the students, I was too helpful to the students. So that's what he meant when he said I couldn't be trusted. And that was one of the excuses he used to not promote me. At that time I was in charge of the minority recruitment program, I was in charge of the transfer program, I was in charge of the eastern [state] recruitment program, and northern [state] recruitment program. I coordinated the Saturday parent information sessions, the interviews. I mean I had all kinds of responsibilities that I did. I just became a very thorough person in terms of completing my tasks, even to the point of becoming a workaholic. But still no promotion. It was that time I wrote the president....

CP: What was the atmosphere from other folks on campus looking at you as a Black administrator here?

H: I think, certainly during that time, 95% of them never said anything to me. Even when I would address them, they would sort of turn their head away, wouldn't even acknowledge me as a person. I think there were a few, [names] that were there, they appreciated what I was doing, but the other faculty, they would never say anything to me at all outside the campus. I would always get second hand

feedback about: "What about that minority recruiter you have in your office, how is he doing?" There was never anything addressed directly to me....

With W.[financial aid director] it was pretty good. I think [he] was working with a limited budget at that time. I think [he] developed a lot of respect for me. But [he] is a very meticulous, he's a very methodical kind of individual. So it had nothing to do with how he felt about me, it was more or less how he was. But I felt he made every attempt to help me. And I think when I wasn't helped, it wasn't anything to do with race as such, it was maybe, mistakes that were made in financial aid that had been made....

[Re: trust of colleagues.] H: Well within the Admissions Office, it's interesting; they all had superegos, so I think that their ego, I feel, really kept me in my place. If I got too much praise from guidance counselors or whatever, if I went to the staff meeting and I said too much, or if I came out with thought provoking statements, it was always overlooked. There was never any reference made to it. I think B. [other counselor] would acknowledge it but it was not anything beyond that. Individually they all had their unique personalities. L. [other counselor] was the kind of person who wanted to keep me in place, make him look superior and at times make me look bad when I was in the lobby by saying, "You do this," or pointing at me, "you do that." Make it appear that he was over me. Which K., he would project subtle forms of racism, it was easy to pick up, making jokes about chitlins and all that. M., she was probably the most progressive on the staff, but I think she had the least influence, being that she was a woman on the staff.... I look back on it now, at the time, no, there was no trust at all. But I'm the kind of person, I forgive and forget on a daily basis. I could not maintain a negative approach to it. I took it day by day. If they were in a good mood on a particular day, I took advantage of that. I'd usually talk to my wife, one day I'd be [up], the next day I'd be down, a see-saw. It was quite a challenge. And I took the approach that, "I have just as much right here as anybody else and I'm not going to run from it." So I stayed and fought it. And I thought I could succeed through my work, but there's always follow through. There is always reference to [former Black counselor] is not following through, reference to [former Black counselor] as being too sensitive, and also not following through. So there was a clear and obvious implication that Black people did not follow through, they were not good administrators, so to speak. So I wanted to change that stereotype, which was another reason why I was motivated, wanted to follow through on everything I did....

I think that those individuals with whom I was receiving negative vibrations, I don't necessarily interpret that as race, because here at A., if you're not an A. graduate, it takes you awhile to get in with the 'in-crowd'.

But certainly their comments, some of the references led me to believe that if I were White, I would be less conspicuous....

I want to be certain that I am doing the correct thing, that I am doing the right thing. I'd always go home and talk to my wife about it; I always wanted to be sure it wasn't me. And I'm not going to deny the fact that in particular cases there were things that I thought I should have been doing; it's all a part of the learning process. But I think in an overwhelming number of situations, particularly as hard a worker as I thought I was, and as hard a worker that people told me I was - that is guidance counselors, some other faculty that I had worked with, and including my own boss - I really felt that I didn't get the kind of credit I deserved for doing that, and for doing the right thing.... So I think that in one sense, not even with my colleagues, but also with the public, I think I was constantly trying to prove myself, and whatever little reinforcement I received, I said, hey, this is what I've got to go through, if I'm going to be on top someday. So maybe I sort of rationalized it to keep me going, and on the other hand, felt rather sorry for these persons because I felt they really could not deal with it themselves, it being their problem.

[Relationships with others on campus] Other people, outside the admissions office, at that time there were two or three Black faculty, Dr.N. being the most vocal and supportive of what I was doing. O.[Black women faculty], on the other hand, we spoke every now and then; I got the impression that she thought that she was better than I was.... So the vibrations that I picked up was that she was going to do her thing, and whatever H. does, that's his business. And as long as the two paths don't cross, all well and good. I didn't get that much support from her. The only support I got from her was just to see another Black face on campus, another Black professional on campus, who was very, very good as what she did as a teacher. In terms of other Black administrators, P. [Affirmative Action Officer] and I became very, very close, although there was a little generation gap between us. She was a little more conservative than I was, but we did not let that interfere with looking at the whole, I mean all the parts. I could tell that she respected me, I respected her. She really looked out for me in different kind of ways. When I felt the need go over to her office and discuss some of my frustrations, her door was always open for me. And we'd discuss very, very freely about how I was feeling, and she in turn would tell me about how she was feeling, and the frustrations that she was experiencing. The difference between me and her, however, was that I was a little more vocal than she was in expressing my frustrations. But I respected her nonetheless. Certainly she was there way long before I came, so although I'm sure she may have been perceived as someone who was not very assertive, in her own

little way, she paved the way for me I felt. So I saw her as being a positive person on campus.

Q.[White faculty], I had known him for a number of years, I had had him as a teacher ... and so he had always been in my corner. Certainly he had always been in the corner of people of color. He taught in the English department here, and he developed a number of courses in Afro-American studies. So I had tremendous amount of respect for Q. And having been here as long as he had been, and involved in the '60's himself, he knew what was going on and he knew the negative forces that were in play, and just how far I could go as far as implementing change on this campus, people with whom I had to deal with and all that. Certainly the final analysis came down to my having to see for myself what I was up against. I also received some support from coaches, only because it was a "I scratch your back, you scratch my back" type of thing. If I could bring them in Black athletes and fund them through my minority budget, well then I was okay by them. I met with some resistance because there were times in which ethically I did not feel that I should be going into the minority budget for an athlete that's going to be helping their program. I thought that they should go into their own budget and finance an athlete as they would have a White athlete.....

But there are people like R.[faculty] on this campus who will work with me, who have always worked with me in helping Black and Hispanic students. I think that that kind of support was fairly obvious. R. gave more than was necessary because he was a doer. So I think that there were people here that never made the spotlight, faculty who never made the spotlight, who would come out of cracks every now and then and surprise me with a very progressive attitude. But I think for the most part, however, the people whose names were constantly in the spotlight were the ones who never supported what I wanted to do and at times I felt they were obstacles to progress that we were trying to make here.....

[Re: career path] And when I saw K. eventually become the Director of Admissions, I thought that perhaps it would not be that far behind that I would become the Associate. In fact when he became director I supported him; I thought that he would be a good director and a good person to work under. So he patted me on the back and said, "H., I'll do this for you and that for you, and I think we can work well together," and just But he proved to be shaky, in a walnut. He would go see [former director] who at that time had moved to Vice President for Administrative Affairs. So [former director] was actually his boss. And he would come back to me and say, "H., I went and saw B. and I tried to get you the promotion I deserved, and he says 'no'. He says, 'I don't trust H., I don't want him as Associate Director.'" And even before [former director] left, he was dangling the carrot because I was threatening to see the president. In fact I had written a letter, a seven page

letter, outlining all the things that I had done at A.[college], and I had indicated to him that I was going to send this letter to the president if I wasn't given serious consideration, or a good reason why I wasn't given a raise or the kind of promotion that I deserve. Then that's when [former director] came up with a raise, saying that I had this tremendous raise, when in fact it was actually nothing. And I was one of two or three people in the school who had gotten an incentive raise along with the regular raise. So that just ended in frustration. But again, I just felt that if K. was director than I'd have a better chance of becoming Associate Director. And it was interesting, during that time L. had moved to the graduate office so there was an opening for an admissions person so they brought in a young woman who stayed for about a year. She had an impressive interview and so forth. B.[former director] was going to have her compete for the associate directorship. Here was a person who had just come in to the program, and if she had proven herself she stood benefitting from a promotion as much as I would have. So actually we had three people competing for the associateship: me, S., and T.; she had only been there at the time, maybe three years. So B. made it apparent that I was to compete with all three of those people for that spot as associate director since K. was to move to the directorship. And I saw that as a slap in the face. And right then I knew he was playing games with me. On the one hand he didn't want me to go because he knew that if I left all that I had done there, there would be a tremendous void. On the other hand, he was not about to promote me, and did a tremendous job of making sure I didn't get that promotion. But somehow or other I worked out a strategy: I said I knew that it was difficult for me to see the president without going through B.[former director] first in terms of chain of command. So I felt if I could get an alumnus to invite me to a meeting with the president, and if the president could see what I had going for me, then that might set up some opportunities for me. So I met with this [Black] alumnus who frequently met with the president prior to that time, and I asked [him] if he would invite me to a meeting with the president to discuss minority recruitments. I was invited to the meeting and thought that I had given a relatively impressive presentation.... At the end of the meeting I thought it would be a good idea just to thank the president for having us over there. So I wrote a six page proposal for the Director of Minority Affairs and I sent it to the president plus thanking him for meeting with us. The president was so impressed with my letter that two days after he read the letter he called me in his office and that's when he offered me the position along with a promotion and raise. And gave me the opportunity to more or less define my own job description. We discussed who would be my boss, who I would report to. He decided it would not be in my best interest, nor the position's best interest to report to [the Dean of Students] because he wanted to give

it more credibility than that, so he thought it best if I reported to the Vice President of Academic Affairs. And so that's how I made it out of admissions and into Director of Minority Affairs position along with a promotion and a raise....

[Being considered the Black 'expert' on campus.] Yeah, I think that, and that has negative ramifications too, but I think that I've gotten knowledge out of that. Since [other program] had come on campus, I think that has taken some of the pressure off of me as having to be the Black expert on campus. But up to that point, I think I enjoyed that title. I think it gave me the flexibility to do whatever I wanted to do. If I wanted to see the president on a certain issue, I went and saw the president on a certain issue. For example, there was an article that appeared in the student newspaper that had racial overtones to it and I was worried that the students of color were not going to respond to it. I've always taken the position of being pro-active: jumping to it before you become defensive and you have to respond to it. So I organized some students and we talked about it, we discussed the article, and we came to the conclusion that we ought to draft up a proposal. And we drafted a proposal that contained around 10 to 12 items ranging from campus security, how campus police reacted to persons of color, to changing the curriculum or developing curriculum on valuing diversity, and we took it to the president. Now before we went over there, I schooled the six students who were members of the executive board to take the approach that, this is not going to be an antagonist type of approach. We are going over there in a positive way to benefit the entire campus, not just students of color or White students. So they took that posture when they met with the president and his cabinet. They had no alternative but to be supportive....

You can't just come up with a program to benefit only those that you are trying to help; you've got to come up with something that benefits everybody across the board, and that includes Whites. So taking that posture, I decided in my program, I needed to get White students involved on some level. Number one, I think it's going to help me, number two, it's going to help the White students benefit more about race relations.... So I appreciate faculty sending these students to me, asking questions for different projects that they need to do in the classroom, recommending books for them to read....

Since [other program] has come on campus, they have been tremendous support for me because there are a number of Black professors, and White professors that are progressive, in that department.... So that's been a major support for me on campus and I don't feel like I'm the only advocate on campus speaking out on campus, be it oppression against Black and Hispanic people, be it oppression against homosexuals. They are very in tune with any kind of

oppression, and that's very nice to have, to have that kind of support....

[Do problems still occur?] On the bulletin board across from my office, a Black student, in an effort to reach out, decided to create a board that would indicate love, unity, of all races, and she had hands from all racial groups. And someone ripped off the Black hand. These kinds of little subtle things wear and tear on you, and you wonder if in fact we are going forward. And that's even more reason why I feel there needs to be an institutional stance, and really create a situation where if a student's rights are interfered with, there needs to be repercussions to that....

Other situations where I would go fund raise with Development. We went over to [corporation] to do some fund raising for minority scholarships. And we wound up getting money. First of all, when we got there, C., who is the Associate Director of Development, while I was doing all the work, he made it quite evident that I was along for the ride. He would talk down to me, or he would come from the ego thing. But little did he know that the guy who we were talking to, who's in charge of funds over there, is Black. And he wound up directing all the stuff to me. And consequently we wound up getting the scholarship to aid students of color when they get into financial difficulty. But C. got all the credit for that. Not once did C. ever come over and tell me thank you. But the kind of person that I am, I will do whatever is necessary that's going to benefit the students....

There needs to be training. And I do feel as though a number of the faculty on this campus are sensitive, but there are some who are not. So I think that everyone needs to go through a training process, not only faculty, I feel that certainly administrators who are servicing these students, whether it be in financial aid, the registrar's office, or whatever. I think that also support staff should go through these training sessions because sometimes they are the biggest culprits. Sometimes the secretaries have looked down upon [Black] students, or they may be abrupt when a student comes to them for service or to ask them a question, the response may be such that it will intimidate the student, make them feel as though they should not be there. So certainly I think that everyone who has contact with students, either directly or indirectly, needs to go through that kind of training.

I really felt that I was born, that I'm born with a certain unique quality that enables me to work and counsel one-on-one with students. Certainly being married to ... my wife, who has gone through the counseling programs and has learned professionally how to counsel individuals, I've learned a tremendous amount from her. So to top it all off, she's taught me a lot.... I've felt that my calling is in the area of working one-on-one with students; this is where I am more effective that I can really make a contribution,

and I've felt that I have tremendous contribution. I see it coming back to me when I see students who never said "thank you" while they were here as students, all of a sudden pop up and say, "Mr.H., I had to come back to tell you that you've done so much for me." And these students seem to be so successful; they're really feeling good about themselves. So just getting them through a college experience and going out there into adult life, I really feel that I've been a part of that. And over the years I've worked with a considerable amount of students. And I've even affected White students.... I've had a number of students refer White students to me because they could not talk to any other administrators or counselors on campus. So White students would come to me asking for help, or asking for advice, or if they had roommate problems they would come and see me and we'd sit down and talk because they feel more comfortable talking to me than to anyone else because they feel that I really care.... I really feel that I am making a contribution to life doing what I'm doing, and I really enjoy it. I really enjoy it.

[Making meaning of being a Black administrator at a predominantly White institution.] First of all I wish there were more Black males around. I think that all that I read concerning issues of Black males in any professional world, certainly Black male administrators, all that I read about the shortage, on the hand I say to myself - in a very honest way, I say to myself - they really need me here, if for no other reason that I'm a Black male, and there aren't that many qualified Black male professionals that seem to be working here....

So on one hand, they cannot afford to lose me. I don't sit back on my laurels of course, but I do feel that at times that I'm just marking time. I'm kind of a loner on campus in interacting with associates or colleagues; I just don't feel connected with other professionals. They may go down to the field house and play racquetball, or swim, or play tennis, or play basketball together. They may eat together. I've watched some of the laziest White males on campus, who aren't doing a darn thing, achieve status because they golf with some of the other professional White males on campus, or they play racquetball with the other White males on campus.

I threw a multi-cultural dinner a year ago that was extremely successful, in which we had over 200 people, and a good cross-section: we had Whites, we had Blacks, we had international students, you had faculty. ...But when it came time to receive credit, I got credit certainly from the significant people who knew what I was doing, and all I went through in getting that thing organized. But I could see a pat on the back to U., who did nothing - he was the director of the international program - who did nothing at all to earn that. And it wasn't until G.'s wife put pressure on my boss, and it wasn't until then that my boss said, "Hey, I'd better send H. a note to tell him what a tremendous job that

he did." Because I could just see it from behind: this guy was getting credit, more credit than I was getting, for something that he had nothing to do with, yet, because he's White. He's White, and I'm not supposed to be able to organize anything. "H. could not possibly have organized this affair." Those kinds of things....

These are just little subtle harassments that I've been getting some time there. I could be out there talking to, for example, V., and [my boss] walks up to me and interrupts and begins to join in the conversation, and turns his back on me. He gave me no eye contact whatsoever. B. [former supervisor] does the same thing, he's always done it. So it's like, I'm shoved aside; I'm not important enough to dialogue with them. The little subtle kinds of harassment that they give me, and I don't think that I would get that if I were a White male. The president, when he sees me, he'll run across campus and walk me from one end of campus to another. No matter who he's talking to, the president will stop what he's doing and come over and acknowledge me. Now this is the president of the college, who knows what I'm doing. But these other people....

I can keep saying that that's their problem. No matter where I go, I'm going to experience that. I'm not sure if I can run away from that or not. So I think I'm a very, very strong person, but at the same time, one of the reasons I've become strong is I don't sweep things under the rug. I sit there and I deal with it. I guess my recommendation to another Black male is to seek out those who you feel comfortable with and get support from those people, deal with the others on a professional level, and anything short of that, you're wasting your time. And just remember this, if you're doing right, and others are doing wrong, I really believe that what goes around comes around. They will get theirs, they will get theirs, believe me. But I want to continue to do the right thing. I want to continue to cover all my bases. I will continue to let the right hand know what the left hand is doing. I will continue to follow through, communicate as a team player what I'm all about, and they can't help but to respond in a positive way and support that. So I feel that I've earned my keep here on campus; I've proved myself on campus. Anything else, I'm not worried about losing my job. I don't have to hang out with those people. I try to be nice and that's it. Kindness kills. I mean X.[supervisor] is leaving for president of [another college], and I told him congratulations and so forth. So I will continue to be nice, I will continue to be nice to him. And the person that replaces him, I will continue to be nice to him too. So again, whatever problems we have pertaining race with me as an individual right now, that is their problem. And if they have to go out of their way to make my life uncomfortable, they must be miserable themselves, if they have nothing better to do than to harass me in those kinds of ways. They won't go overboard with it, but just the

little kinds of things, that's what I'm talking about. And I think the other thing is that so many people, for the most part, they are so darn sexist, so darn racist, that I get bored talking to them. When I talk to them they make funny statements that are so out of whack, so way behind times, so I'm not stimulated around those people. I'm more stimulated around students, I'm more stimulated around people who think progressively. So just being around those people, I feel that I'm around very, very lazy dead energy. That's just how I feel about it. I'm going to continue to grow. I don't care how old I become, I want to continue to grow, and I want my mind to continue to be open. But one good thing I want to say, that is there are some progressive people here on campus. I know Y., he runs workshops on homophobia, and he and his wife have been supportive of my program from day one. They will call me on the phone, they will send newspaper clippings of things that I would be interested in. I will attend their workshops; we support one another. So it's nice to know that there are people like [him] here. I've spoken to other faculty who have since then come through the cracks and expressed their admiration for me and have really shared things that they were thinking about. A lot of people who were involved in programs back in the late 60's or early 70's, and they still think that way. So your [former supervisor], [current supervisor], these people don't mean much in my life other than someone I report to, and that's about it. I just don't enjoy being around those people because they're sexist, they call themselves politically aware racially but they're not sensitive to it. They're astute enough to say all the right things around the right people but deep down inside their mouth is saying one thing but their hearts are certainly saying another....

I mean there are things that Black folk do that I disagree with, and I will say, "Hey, I disagree with that." I cannot get into a 'hate Whitey' kind of thing no matter how racist a society is because I know there are some White people out there who, in my estimation, are just as committed as Black people to the struggle against oppression. I don't live that way. So I want to continue to move forward. I want to continue to foster racial harmony if that's possible, to foster the situation where everyone can get together. Now that may be a little romantic, but that's the way I feel about it.

And I'll be honest with you, sometimes I rationalize that way. See I enjoy doing what I'm doing right here, but I do feel that opportunities could be created for more if I had a Ph.D. So it's choosing between committing myself to get a Ph.D. or having what I have and just build upon that without the Ph.D....

There's a reason why maybe it didn't go well in admissions, and I'm glad that it didn't happen where I got promoted because otherwise I'd still be over there working with those clowns. I'm glad I have this position because as much as I talk about some of the negative people that I

associate with, I am as much as my own boss. I am my own boss. I make things happen myself. I enjoy that. When it comes time for my evaluations, I have it all written down and people can see what I do and they are amazed at how I'm able to accomplish it. Who knows? Someday I might become a college president, I just say that right now. But I do not aspire to be a college president....

I think if I had one big criticism of myself is that I tend not to be an advocate for myself. I tend to be an advocate for other people. And I really feel that I need to start advocating more for [myself] than I have in the past, and that's going to be hard, very difficult to change, since I've been used to most of my life not being an advocate for myself. And I think partly because I'm a Black male, and not that I'm trying to find any excuses with that. But I find myself constantly trying to prove myself, constantly trying to do more than the other guy. I'm always doubling and tripling my efforts. And I just wish there would come a time when I didn't have to do that. I mean, you look on TV and you see White people swimming in the pools and eating in the restaurants, and whether they're in any part of the country, and you don't see any Black folks in there. You get brochures from places to vacation and you don't see any Black people in those brochures. And you say to yourself, "Jesus Christ, it is not easy being a person of color in this world, not just in this country, but just focusing in on this country." So my experience here is nothing more than a reflection of my experience in this United States of America, and that is I always have to, it seems, to work harder to get to where I want to go. I never feel as though I necessarily belong. Although being married to a White woman has appraised me to a lot of these things.... Not having gone over to the cafeteria to eat where the faculty eat, I bet if I went over there today, I would get a lot of stares, because I'm very visible. There's no way that I can just walk right in like any other White person and just sit down, squat and eat. So I'm not sure if experiencing that, if I should necessarily accept it as a fact of life or do something about it as far as [I] am concerned. So I've given it a lot of thought. I think that this interview has stirred up a lot of these thoughts that have been dormant within me. This morning before I came to work my wife saw that ... I was somewhat depressed. And she said to me, "I bet Carlton's interviews have kind of stirred up some things in you." It's kind of like stirring up stuff that's in water, there's some water and it comes to the surface. This morning I was discussing with her [my boss], and I was discussing with her [former supervisor], and I was discussing with her the racial kinds of overtures that we experienced yesterday on campus. And she was feeling bad about that. I was sharing with her that it's hard not to be defensive as a Black person in society. I have a sister ... who can't stand White people anymore for some reason or another, so my wife and I can't stand to be around her

anymore. But just going through this campus and experiencing the negative things kind of stir up things to me. And I told my wife, "Honey, on the one hand I can appreciate in a strange kind of way the kind of pain my sister is going through ... where she's extremely intelligent and experiencing all the racism that she's been experiencing. She can't take anymore." I said, "Thank God I'm strong enough not to generalize it across the board and developing an animosity against all Whites. Thank God for that honey." And she said, "I'm going to tell you something. I really understand that, and it's got to be so, so difficult." So just in these past few days that I've shared this with you, it has stirred up some dormant kinds of feelings that I've had, and I see that as positive. So I've really enjoyed this interview.

APPENDIX F

PROFILE 6: O.

Director of Multicultural Affairs at a private college, and 17 years at predominantly White institutions of higher education. Highest degree earned: doctorate.

Interview:

O: In terms of Director of Upward Bound, it was a Herculean undertaking. At 23 years old, becoming a director of the program that had 125 students. At that time it was one of the largest programs in the country. I was very much concerned about our students negotiating their high schools and going on to colleges and universities. ...At A. [state university] we were able to establish linkages with the admissions' office, with residential life, the housing office, the financial aid office, with the academic vice president ... who I reported to. We made those kinds of contacts which led, which linked a great deal to the program, receiving funding that I guess played a role even in the program existing to this very day....

I dealt a lot with the provost, but also knew that I had the support of the chancellor of the university, and at that time the chancellor of the university was Dr. P., who was a Black gentleman, and who was one of the founders of a program very similar ... to Upward Bound. So I knew that he had a sense of what I was all about and what the Upward Bound program was all about. So I knew I had support from the top. But just dealt a lot with Q. and his designate. And as I needed assistance in different areas he would point me in the appropriate direction. So I would just sit down and ask these folks for what I needed.

C: The chancellor of the institution was Black and one of the founders of a program similar to yours, so did that make the environment that much more hospitable to your program and to you as a Black male?

B: Oh I think it contributed enormously. Not only did it make it more hospitable, but I think to this day, I consider Dr. P. one of my role models and a mentor. I don't see him a lot, you know he's down at a school called B., I think a lot of this man. If I wanted to be in touch with him now I'd just simply get on the phone and dial, "How ya doin', I'd like to see you." He was a role model. And I guess just noticing him in his position told me that perhaps one day I may become a vice chancellor, a chancellor, a president of an institution; it meant a lot. And I guess it's sort of empowered me, and going out and dealing with these other folk in the university. In fact I think most of us who worked at A. at that time, people of color, I mean our hearts were gladdened that there was a Black chancellor, and we really felt empowered and bold and in terms of going

around and talking to folk around what it was that we needed, he made our day. I mean, made our burden a lot easier to deal with....

That's about it, at that time I may have been Assistant Director, I was an administrator. I was an administrator at the time, I was not the director at that time. Now P. [chancellor] knew of my involvement in this [being part of a demonstration where O. hit a student] and I guess could have reprimanded me - an administrator being involved in this - could have fired me.... But, in his wisdom he really did not say anything at, did not say anything. A few years later we would talk about it at a testimonial that was given for me before leaving.... So I think about that, and I guess one of the lessons that I learned from that is ... I don't act harshly initially [with my staff]. I try to get insight into what transpired, try to get all the facts before taking any action, if any. I don't act too rashly, and I think that's what P. did in that instance. He saw a young administrator that was doing a half way decent job and had support of students. He didn't act too rashly in that instance. So it had a tremendous impact on me in terms of my style, in terms of how I operate....

I think it [the environment at the university] was about tolerance. I think it was just about tolerance. Although I think that some in-roads were being made at that time. It was about that time that the school of education was beginning to bring in Black students in larger numbers than had been previously identified....

The other thing that was happening that after the riots had occurred, the near riots had occurred in the town of [name] or the campus of the university, the police departments, both on campus and then the community wanted to short circuit some of the acting out. So they wanted to sit down and talk with some of the key movers in the community. One of the things that I'll always remember is that they took us away, the campus police and the city police, to somewhere in [other state] for a weekend, where we had a dialogue for the entire weekend around how we could better work with each other in the town.... So before the police would act on anybody in terms of [town], they would contact a few of us, so they were essentially asking permission to arrest somebody or bring somebody in for questioning, what not. We had that going on.

The other thing that was going on is that was the height, that was the beginning really, of the formation of Black history programs across the country. A. had one of the first Black history programs in the country.... A lot was going on. The founding of the [African-American center].... But I still hold that it was about tolerating Black folk in terms of being accepted. Even in the town, there was this feeling that we really were not wanted there, and the joy that we were experiencing would be short lived. Folks really had some difficulty with how it really is....

[Coming to C. college as Director of the Office of Minority Student Programs]

It was a good experience leaving [social service agency] to come out here in an arena where I thought I had established some skills and had to demonstrate directly being able to effect some things. I was happy to get back into higher education. I was very, very happy. I felt very, very good about it. When I said I died and kind of went to heaven, I died in [social service agency] and came to heaven in C. [college] because the students at C. had a lot more going for them than the youngsters in [social service agency] - almost like a piece of cake. The problems that students had to bear at C. didn't begin to compare with the problems that the youngsters in [social service agency] had. C. has a profound ability of attracting some of the nicest individuals that anyone would hope to meet. So I love my Black students, I love my Hispanic students, and love my Asian students....

For the most part, the administrators - deans and vice presidents - are very civil, very decent individuals, very humanistic individuals. The other thing about C. is that it is a Jesuit institution.... The thing I like about the Jesuit order is that there is a kinship, I think, between Blacks and Jesuits. I think about it on a couple of levels. When you think about it, the first Black person to serve as a president of a predominantly white institution in the United States was Father Patrick Healy. Healy of Georgetown president between 1874 to 1882; he was a Jesuit....

So coming into this environment really felt good. I felt like I was placed in the hot seat in a hurry. "That we've identified this fellow named O. to come in. He's been identified the director of the minority student program office, so anything dealing in anyway with Black, Hispanic, Asian students, we're kind of let off the hook; we'll just pass it over to O. We'll let him deal with it. We don't have to worry about it." So they were kind of waiting 'til I got aboard.... I was saddled with a heck of a lot....

They were concerned at that time about the high rate of attrition among Black and Hispanic students. The rate of attrition at that time was 83%...83% of the students were leaving. They were concerned about what was going to be done by way of retaining students of color. I had to go to work on putting together a system involving peer counselors, identify some students to work in the office, to reach out to fellow students. Identify the tutors who would be involved in a tutorial program. I think we may have hired, in fact we hired about now the same number we had about then, about 30 tutors in about 25 different subject areas. Rather than departments going to work and developing a system to provide academic support to students, it's kind of laid before us, and that's where it remains. They're not doing enough by way of responding to the academic needs of the students. So they were kind of waiting for me to put this into place....White students might go to the

department, they may go to the department to get help. There is no office set up for White students, no program.... Not in a formalized kind of way. There are the honor programs in the various schools. The honor programs might provide tutorial programs. The White students would go there if they need assistance. But for us, there is this office, the [multi-cultural] student program, which is principally for a [non-White] student. If a White student were to come in and ask for help, we wouldn't turn the White student away. But I think the university thought, and wisely so, that if you invite students of color to a predominantly White institution that there ought to be a program in place to meet their needs. That was wise thinking, because other schools across the country are beginning to see right now. [This was] about 1978. There had been other programs, I don't want to mislead you, there's been other efforts on campus prior to my coming here....

The president of C. at that time, and now, went about putting together a committee on - we use that awful term minority, today - put together a committee on minority education and it led to the establishment of the Office of Minority Student Programs with a full time director. R. was appointed to come aboard. And then R., as I mentioned, only stayed for a year and a half. Kind of left some things in place, but I guess when I came aboard I guess my job was to kind of firm them up. So what we have now is largely what we started with in place about 1978. The retention rate, the graduation rate had been turned around so that now students that come through our orientation program, students come out of programs like Upward Bound, students who have high levels of motivation potentially, they need the experience of a summer program and need to be monitored over the course of the year. But gradually we've had somewhere around 82%. Overall, for the [multi-cultural program] students at C. the retention rate is somewhere around 75% and that doesn't differ largely from White students at C. And clearly miles ahead of what the national average is I was very happy last week, went to a conference in Chicago and received an award for excellence in retention. So my heart was gladdened by that; it's a culminating kind of experience....

[Re: the faculty and lower level administrators]
That's a problem, that's something of a problem....I guess it means that in terms of faculty assuming more responsibility by way of making students of color feel more at home. They're not doing all that they could do. And I guess I'm thinking about providing that extra amount of help outside of the classroom situation, really encouraging students to visit them at their offices, providing the nurturing; they can do much more of that. They have not begun to do that to the extent that they should. And beyond that, in terms of looking at curriculum and structuring it in such a way that it takes people of color into

consideration; they can exert some pull there. They have not really begun to do that. So what we have here is what you have at [state institutions], is what most schools have - predominantly White institutions - Eurocentric curriculum. What we also have is where faculty could play an active role in saying to their dean, to the academic vice president, is that the faculty needs to become more diverse. They have not provided the leadership in doing that. Faculty have not said to the dean, that we're unhappy, that as we look around our departments we will see a Whiteness that we think ought to change. They haven't done that. So faculty need to be a little more forceful. I think of the highest of the presidential level, there is a commitment to [multi-cultural program] students, and they're looking, they're searching for solutions to the issues that [multi-cultural program] students raise about the environment on occasion being uninviting or inhospitable, or racist. I think they listen with a very, very attentive ear. I'm not sure that the faculty listens to the extent that they should, or provides the leadership that they should, by way of changing the institution. And the people at the top need the encouragement, they need to be spurred by the faculty. The faculty is at the very heart of the institution....

At the highest levels, I think they have listened, they are listening, but we have miles to go before we sleep. In terms of meetings, we've had meetings. I think that unlike a lot of other institutions, we've had some meetings. And meetings really stirred by [multi-cultural program] students who met with the board of trustees, the student life committee, to lay out their concerns to them.... Some 5 to 6 [multi-cultural program] administrators made their presentation to the president, the academic vice president, the executive vice president, to all the other vice presidents and to all the deans, what we call The [multi-cultural program] Agenda. So we laid out all the things that we think ought to be done to alter the environment....

The other thing that I really feel very strongly about is that in terms of policy, we need to, as people of color working in predominantly White institutions, we need to be in policy-making positions. When White folks sit down and make decisions like most our institutions, we're not at the table. We need to be at the table when the decision is formulated....

The other thing that we're beginning to see is that if we're not in the educational pipeline ... in terms of replenishing the teaching force, if we're not there, then we need to go to work at developing our own, growing our own.... The other thing that we're working on now, ...we're working on the tenth anniversary of [multi-cultural program]....

Somebody said it best - I'm thinking about a conference at MIT, I think about 1981-1982 - one of the panels at that conference had to do with serving two masters. That's the plight of a Black administrator at C., and I would wager to

guess at most predominantly White institutions. We have the constituency of Black students, or students of color, but then we also have to respond to other administrators in the institution. I suppose all administrators have to do that, I guess all administrators have two masters of a sort, but I think it's exasperating in the case of the Black administrator because the issues are different. Like: perceptions that the institution is racist, that's a real issue, that the institution is uninviting, that the institution is inhospitable. We have to represent that sentiment to an administration that often times has difficulty understanding that, so we have to be on the offense in passing that word along to our superiors. In terms of getting the support from other administrators, White folks, the support is not there because they don't understand it; they don't understand in a visceral kind of way what it is Black students and other students of color are saying.

I guess what I'm saying is that it's a lonely existence, that the students feel alienated, isolated, and lonely. We can relate to that because we feel the same way. I'm sure that you do. I'm sure that [Black president] does at B. Sometimes it's a very lonely kind of existence. Like a student in terms of going into a classroom and having to be the authority on this, that, or the other. You and I are placed in that role when we go to staff meetings. Anything that goes on, anything that pertains to Black students, Hispanic students, we're supposed to know about. So it's being placed in a very precarious predicament. Matters are exasperated 'cause there's so very few of us at C.... So it's a lonely kind of existence. We're struggling now with our Black faculty, staff, administrators' group. We were meeting for awhile with some regularity; there has been an effort to revise the structure of the group, and I guess that's kind of happening now. We're hoping that in the fall, we will have come back together to meet for purposes of being supportive of each other and to share....

CP: Were you a part of the development of it?

O: Oh yeah. And trying to - I'm not an officer - but trying to do what I can by way of reviving, I guess is an appropriate term; it needs a shot of energy.... So there's a mere pittance of us. So in terms of the alienation, the isolation that we feel, there is not the circle that is readily available to us in terms of support.

CP: What about mentoring relationships for you? Do you have a mentor at C.?

O: Not really. My mentors are outside of the institution. I think a great deal of [names of Blacks at other institutions]. So those are folks who I hold in very high regard.... You have to reach out. The other things is that in terms of conferences, I find it very important to go to conferences. I also find it important to attend meetings where colleagues in similar positions come together with some regularity. We have a group here in [city] called

[name], and we meet people of color who work in basically support service positions at 16 area colleges and universities. We come together once a month to share with one another and be supportive of one another. So that's where I get tremendous amounts of support, and I just feel revived at those meetings. I come back empowered to deal another day....

For the most part, we're [people of color] mid-management. I guess I affect policy in this office, but I think you know that the center of power at most institutions, I mean really rests with deans and vice presidents. That's where it really lies. So they meet and we're not really there, moreover, we really carry out policy....

To that extent [hiring and training staff], I affect policy in terms of getting the resources that we need in the office, I can get access to those powers that be. I suppose if I wanted to meet with the president tomorrow, I'll call up, and if he's in town, I would have a meeting with the president. I could meet with the executive vice president or any one of the deans. I guess that's come as a result of having gotten some credibility over the 10 years that I've been here, and doing the job. So if I want to see these folks, I can insist on seeing them. We have gotten, the university is to a very large extent supportive of us and the manifestation is that we have a budget of about \$430,000....

I think that the faculty at C. and probably at - I guess I'm indicting numbers of other predominantly White institutions across the country - feel, a lot of faculty feel that students of color period are in need of academic support services if they're going to make it. They'll need to come in and utilize the tutorials, the counseling, et cetera. So they've already pegged the students of color as needing the support. So they don't have a lot of difficulty pointing students in our direction....The other thing, on a more positive note, we have, the office has the support of the president. The office also has the support of the academic vice president. And one of the services that the office provides is an early warning system, a system that monitors how our [summer program] and how other [multi-cultural program] students are doing in their classroom situations.... And the response from the faculty when we send out the request is somewhere around 75 or 80%, so the response is very, very good.

CP: Do you as an administrator sit on all-college committees? Are you required to sit on any all-college committees involving minority students, whatever?

O: Occasionally we're asked to sit on, I'm asked, or the Associate Director is asked to sit on an interviewing committee. Where is there a committee having to do with [multi-cultural program] students, the climate of life on campus, we may be asked to sit on that kind of committee. But what you're asking, I think what you might be asking is

are we involved in college policy making committees; for the most part we're not. And that's one of the limitations of this position. When deans sit down, when vice-presidents sit down, when the president and his cabinet go away on weekend retreats and the like, and policy is formulated, no, we're not involved in the decision making, we're not involved in formulating policy. That's a major, major concern of mine. That's one of the frustrations of working at C. One of the frustrations of working in higher education. There are not enough Black folks, there are not enough people of color involved in formulating policy....

CP: But you are consulted at times when decisions are made regarding [multi-cultural program] students.

B: Yeah. Most generally it's not around academic policy, it's not around policy. It might be around the hiring on campus which is a different kind of thing. But lately it's something else, and that is ...one of the limitations of this position is that we're located on the student affairs side of the house, when 85 to 90% of what we do is on the academic side of the house. So I guess part of what I related to vice president of student affairs, the vice president of academic, or executive vice president or the president, is that one thing that they really ought to consider ... is that the reporting line of this position should be to academic vice president.... I think what they look at C., we're identified something of a model program, recognized recently for our work around retention, I think the attitude might be, that if it's not broke, why fix it....

[Other limitations] In terms of a support system, I wish that there were more of a support system for the few people of color that work at C. As I think about students and learn about their feelings of alienation, isolation, loneliness, or being surrounded by a sea of whiteness, as I know how the students feel, I wish that they knew that often times I feel the same way. I feel that alienation and isolation. I wish that there were more of a critical mass of people of color, especially Black folk on the faculty, staff, and the administration. That's one of the limiting aspects of working in this kind of environment. The other thing is the frustration of knowing, when I think about curriculum, that Black students and White students, all students are being cheated academically, because as I think about the curriculum in being Euro-centric, it doesn't take people of color into consideration. I'm troubled by that because as we move into the year 2000 and we become more of a global village, it becomes clearer that folk really need to know about other's cultures, and that's not provided. And that concerns me. If there's any place that it ought to be provided, it is in the higher education arena. We're just not doing the job....

There's always the need for additional dollars. There's always the need, I guess to be more specific, for additional staff. I've asked, I've been asked to oversee

all [multi-cultural program] students at C. We've done a good job and numbers are on the incline in terms of numbers of students coming in and availing themselves of the resources of the office. We have no problem in clients. Yet, one of our major limitations is when the students come in we don't have enough man-power to respond to their needs. So it really takes a lot out of the few folk that are on staff. They're asked to do an inordinate amount. So that's a major limitation....

[Re: educating faculty to issues] It's not an easy task at all. I think about a committee, don't really do it with the office with any kind of regularity, but the office is also involved with the Martin Luther King Memorial Committee. It's another hat that I wear, co-chair the Martin Luther King Committee. One of the functions of the Martin Luther King Committee has been to provide workshops, lectures, symposiums, around diversity. One of the workshops...has had to do with prejudice reduction, so we get into all these kinds of things. Another thing that we initiated last year was a discussion series. The idea is to bring the various sectors of the C. community to a sit down to talk about the African-American experience and attending predominantly White institutions, barriers for the Hispanic students at predominantly White institutions. So we have those kinds of forums....

One of our recommendations to Father N., to the vice presidents and to the deans, that there be an orientation for new faculty, or all faculty, regarding particular kinds of problems that students of color might bring to bare. I guess it all comes under the roof of cultural diversity, understanding cultural diversity....

[Re: coping as a Black administrator] As an administrator, what do I do? I have a drink every now and then. I'll very definitely have a drink every now and then. But I think that one of the best things for me has been my involvement in the [area council]. And the council is an association that consists of administrators working at some 16, to 17 neighboring colleges and universities. These administrators of color, primarily Black, we get together at least once a month during the academic year and share what it is we're doing on our campuses relative to the retention of students of color. We'll have speakers come in, we'll have dialogue among ourselves, folks will put on symposiums, we'll put on workshops. But the best thing that we do is come together because it allows an opportunity for us to purge ourselves of the frustrations that we deal with over the course of a month on our respective campuses. Gives us an opportunity to ventilate. So that's one of the things that I've found to be very, very beneficial. The other thing is that by virtue of having such an association, it allows an opportunity to, if we're not meeting, get on the phone and call another brother or sister and say, "Hey, I need some help. I'm going through some changes. I need to talk to someone. Can we get together for lunch, can we get

together for dinner?" or listen to me on the phone. That's what I do.

The other thing that I've begun to do with more regularity over the last several years is simply admit to my students that I'm limited in what I can do. That in terms of the frustrations, I'm caught in a very precarious predicament because somebody coined a term a few years back called serving two masters. As an administrator I have an obligation to respond to the mission of the institution; I have to do what I was hired to do. At the same time I feel an obligation to respond to the needs of the students. So I walk a very fine line. And I just feel better just laying that out to students for their understanding. Sometimes honesty is clearly the best policy, just laying it out. But to respond to your question, I guess it is about being in touch with colleagues and just sharing. The other thing that I could be a little bit better at I guess is taking it home, and recognizing that my wife can also be my friend. And that in terms of an attentive ear, that she has an ear and she's willing to listen. She's willing to listen and to give some constructive feedback. So that helps me tremendously. So I thank God for being married....

We don't do enough in terms of having symposiums dealing with our issues; we've got to do more of that. We have a dialogue in our meetings once a month, and we'll get on the phone, but we don't do enough by way of our own development. So that's something we've really got to focus on. I suppose what we all do is go to different conferences. That's another way that I deal with my frustrations. When I think that I have it bad, I'll go to a conference just find out that somebody else is in worse shape than we are at C. Inevitably I'll find that out, that really, our blessings are enormous here at C. when compared against other conditions that other folks have to live with. So I see, the going to the conferences, the sharing what we do here and have others share to us as being very therapeutic....

How do I begin to make meaning? I think that I played some role in preparing students to deal with the year of 2000. As I think about it, as I think about the youngsters, the grad students who have graduated from C. now, when they leave here, they leave here with skills, they leave here having some insight to the world around them, they leave with the ability to stand on their two feet, they leave here in a position to contribute something to society, I guess that's where I derive my joy, that they're wholesome, productive, capable people who are willing to contribute something to society when they graduate from C. and I've played a little bit of a role in that. I think about it. I'm into the year 2000, I guess I mention it because I see a world that will require a great deal by way of skill. It's going to take a certain kind of person to be prepared to deal with the reality of the world before us.

CP: ...How frustrating is it for you that you do not see the same type of effort or the support for the effort for the general population student at C. ? ...

O: It doesn't bother me that much because I think that these students are going to be all right. I think about the population at C., 57% of the students at C. are wealthy. There are the folk that are going to be in control for some time to come, and I think what I'm trying to do is prepare [multi-cultural program], or contribute to the preparation of [multi-cultural program] students that will assume positions of leadership and authority. So most of my energies are expended here. I don't think a lot about the White students, except I'm concerned that they are being cheated because they're being lied to when history is taught. I can use that example, when history is taught they're being lied to because they're taught to believe that they're something that they're not. And that if a half-truth is taught, then that truth is a lie. If you don't factor the contributions of people of color into the curriculum, then all, that whole curriculum leaves something to be desired. I'm concerned about that. But no, I don't worry about White students, I'm more concerned about what's happening to the [multi-cultural program] students....

[Future plans] Well, O. hopes to be thinking very seriously about retiring about that time, giving it some serious thought. I don't know that I'll have the cash to do it, and it will still be down, at that time it will still be down the pike, at least I will have given some serious thought to it. What I want to do, I hope that in about 12 years or so, if not the president of an institution, if not the president of a small community college - maybe a two-year institution - because I think that's where the majority of us are going to be as we approach the year 2000. It's true now, I think it's going to be true then. I'd like to be the president of a community, two-year college. If not that, I hope to still be in a position of vice-president of [multi-cultural] affairs at a four-year institution. Might be in California, might be in Arizona, might be down South. I want to be a president. And I guess I'm especially concerned about this population, the [multi-cultural program] students, and I see down the pike that a wave of the future is that we're going to be moving from positions of Director of [multi-cultural] Student Programs to deans of [multi-cultural] student programs, multi-cultural affairs, and I think the next step is going to be vice-president. I think what we're beginning to see now, we look at Black Issues in Higher Education, The Chronicles, more and more positions are being created....

The other things that comes to my mind ... especially thinking about brothers who have got to be removed from the community for a period of time, I guess what I'm saying is that I think of going back to work with ... more difficult youngsters. I really believe that if Father Flannigan

started a Boystown about 70 years ago, for Irish Catholic youth white males, that if it was needed then for Irish Catholic males, it's certainly needed in 1989 for Black males. What O. is thinking very seriously about is establishing a school, I guess I'm still talking education, to remove some of these more difficult youngsters from the community and establish something on the order of a Boystown. It's in the back of my mind....

But I think that the other thing that I think a lot about is that we need to go back to a period, like right after Reconstruction, when we began founding our own schools. I think about people like Dr. Mary McCleod Bethune, I think about Booker T. Washington, I think about Manny Burrows. I know the list goes on in terms of Black folk who started our own schools. And I think maybe in the light of what's happening in cities across the country, we need to go back to that. The other thing that I think a lot about is, during the latter part of the sixties, the early seventies, I know that in Harlem there were such schools as Harlem prep. In Jersey City there was a street academy called Street Academy. So they dissipated, but I think they need to come back. It was about us, it was about empowerment, it was about our forging our destiny, it was about us intervening in the lives of our young people rather than waiting for others to do for us what we ought to have been doing for ourselves. I think we've got to go back to that. So about building schools. That's what I see myself doing in part....

C. [college] has to recognize, as I think about faculty and staff, that if we're [Blacks] not in the pipeline, and they throw out that argument all the time, that we're not going on to get doctorate degrees, then I think part of the focus is going to have to be on identifying talented freshmen and sophomores, working with them, mentoring them, providing the nurturings to get them excited about careers in teaching. Somebody calls it growing our own. We've got to begin growing our own... I think that C. needs to be involved in the kinds of things that the 28 Jesuit colleges and universities should become a pro-active kind of effort.... Before very long we will be talking to the presidents around the notion of the consortium. We will be talking to them about that at a meeting sometime, hopefully in January, where all the presidents will convene, that will be one of the things that we'll present to them. If we want to increase faculty, here is the way you can go about doing it. The other thing that will be presented to them, hopefully next May, will be the piece that I'm working on, the dissertation, the study of the status of academic support service programs for Black and Hispanic students attending the 28 Jesuit colleges and universities. And I suppose the thing they'll probably find most interesting, I would hope, would be the recommendations that I'll make in terms of what they need to do if they're going to continue

inviting Black and Hispanic students to come, so that'll be presented....

[Making meaning] I call it my ministry. I see this as being my ministry. It's larger than a job; it's my ministry. It's what God wants me to be, it's what I've been called to do. And the road sometimes gets rocky, and sometimes it can get alienating, isolating, lonely experience. But then when I reflect on it, I have been tremendously blessed to have come out of the [inner city] where the skills were simply not there, where a mother and father passed away, where [undergraduate college] became home, to find my way to a C. where I can make a difference for someone else. Where, before very long, I will write a piece that will inform policy for other students of color attending 28 Jesuit colleges and universities across the country. I think I've been truly blessed; that's how I make meaning out of it. As I think about it, I've been called to this work. And I guess in putting it in that context, I'm better able to persevere. In terms of the labor, it's a labor of love and it's about service....

APPENDIX G

PROFILE 7: M.

Associate Director of Admissions, and Director of Academic Support for Athletics in a public university for 17 years. Highest degree earned: doctorate.

Interview:

M: [At A. university] ... [I was] Assistant Instructor to the Director of Admissions because during that period of time I didn't have a master's. They were playing games about master's and things like that. So I had to get a master's to become an Assistant Director. I went and took courses for my master's, that was my main reason for pushing to get my master's....So I went on to get a master's. And also I was learning about the system, learning about the job, learning about the programs, the college itself. Never intended to be here more than three years. So I did that for, got on committees, got on search committees, got to know people, became very active in the community, traveled all over the state, got to know everybody at most of the schools. Most schools I went, went to all the urban schools, so I got to know most of the counselors in urban schools. Got involved with the NAACP, the Urban League, other organizations that I thought were helping Black people out. So I became very active in a lot of these kinds of organizations. Political organizations.... After that, after about 7 or 8 years I went to Acting Director of Minority Community Affairs....

[Being one of few Black administrators]. Actually when I first started here I think there were about seven, counting administration, counting teachers, counting everybody that come under that area. There were a lot of headaches with it. I would say in a period of time, there's a lot of pressure to prove yourself that you can do the job. Also, there wasn't that much pressure for upward mobility that once you get to a level that you could move out. My director at that time said, "It's okay to go to school but don't push for the job." It wasn't said, it was subtly said, it was never said but subtly it was there....

[Re: lack of support for upward mobility.] Yeah, yeah. I mean even if you applied for other jobs, things like that. It wasn't there. I don't know if it was there or not, I didn't feel it was there. I didn't feel very comfortable with that situation. But then at time I had a son, so I had to eat, so I had to keep working. But also during that period of time, unfortunately I applied for some jobs that I really wasn't qualified for: deanships, and things like that. I really didn't have the experience. So, there really wasn't that much of a guidance during that period of time; people telling you or showing you what to do, or

suggesting things, because there really weren't that many Black people in higher education that you could talk to during that period of time. Most of the people I was communicating with were people on my same level or maybe assistant instructor or instructor, assistant professor, or people in counseling that started with me, people that started a couple years before I started. So it wasn't as much the experience as per say, someone who's been here 8, 9, 10 years. You didn't get that from your White colleagues. I mean, they were courteous to you and they would talk to you and they were nice to you. As far as sitting down and really explaining the ropes to you, you would have to learn the ropes day by day by day until you understand the ropes by yourself. So it wasn't that nurturing that you should normally get in a situation. It was something that you had to learn on the job....

Like I said, a person can be very nice and can be very supportive, but it doesn't mean that they do anything for you. I think you have to look at it that way. He's never hurt you, but he's never gone out of his way to do anything super for you...

[Re: contact with the students after they were admitted.] Oh yes, I was advisor to the [Black student organization] since I first started here. So I've always been involved with the activities on campus, programs at the school. Go to all the dances, chaperone all the dances, not all, but 90% of them. Go to a lot of the activities with the students. Speakers, we have a lot of activities here. I've always been very active, very involved with the students on campus... specifically at that time with the Afro-American students....

CP: It was something you took on yourself?

M: Well yeah, because they didn't have anybody else to do it. So there were two of us, three of us who did it, so it wasn't that bad... So what we're trying to do was develop a climate so minority students had something to call their own.... So that was my first time getting involved with that and I think that we've grown leaps and bounds from that day. We're now one of the strongest organizations on campus...

CP: Did it seem like you were on a number of committees.

M: Well you had to be on a number of committees. There were only three or four Black people on administration, so you had to be, you or the other person rotated.

CP: So was it that the institution had a standard that they said that they wanted Blacks on all committees or those committees.

M: Most committees, not all committees. Most committees you did have a rotation. When you got burned out of committees, I got burned out of search committees, but not on research committees. I mean I should do it, but I've

been on hundreds and hundreds of search committees since I've been here....

Oh it wasn't in the job description.... Well you always got to do, you always got to wear about three or four different hats if your gonna come on the campus. You're involved with different organizations, activities, things of that nature. You always do it.... You got to be a father figure, you got to be a mother figure, you got to be a counselor, you got to be in charge of some programs, you still got to do your job, so all these things. I think they really expect that you to do that. It was expected that you do it.

CP: Did they ever play into your evaluation, did it ever become really part of your job.

M: No. I got evaluated on this job ... solely. Well they made a little something, I was involved with the community, but it wasn't evaluated, it had nothing to do with it. Evaluation is what you do on this job, and that's what you're accountable for.... In your evaluation, based strictly on job performance on the job. If what you did on the outside looked okay, they don't give a damn about it, they want the job to come first. If you didn't produce on the job you were in for problems. You'd have to learn the ropes, learn the game. The game is sometimes people would walk by your desk, they might lay thousands of paper on your desk. They don't have a damn thing to do but you just leave it there. Just learn how to survive. And if you don't know how to survive, then you've got a problem. People would come out and look at your desk, look around, and I always had me a desk full of paper. Maybe I had did it all but I just know somebody's always looking at what's going on. That was the game.

CP: So then you went on to Acting Director of Community Minority Affairs.

M: That was a great time. I really enjoyed that. Unfortunately, things I did in that job, I worked with the community, brought community programs on campus, vice versa, brought the campus and community work very closely again with the Black student union, was involved with the Hispanic students a lot. [I was] director of the summer school program, worked a lot with that, so I was in charge of the summer program, recruiting students for the summer program.... Didn't work out because we got a new president, there was a lot of politics in it, real heavy politics, and I never recovered from that psychologically. I still felt that I got a raw deal, and that was one of my lowest deals.... There were certain deals that you didn't know about but I know there were deals that brought me back here [Admissions], 'cause I really didn't want to come back here....

First of all, I was appointed by the president of the college in an acting position. I think that was a mistake; I think he could have made it a permanent position.... I reported to the president.... I would say that people

probably resented me leaving here [Admissions] to go to that position. I felt that ... I don't know if resentment was it, like I said about that subtle stuff before, people say nice things to you but really they don't give a shit if you go or stay. But they want you to stay in that position, do that kind of work. So I went to that position with the blessings of the president and some other people.... The other person became the director of Affirmative Action so I took his position. The position basically was to, just like what they call now, Director of Minority Affairs, basically that's what the position was.... Any problems that the minorities have you try to deal with ... to improve the environment for minorities on campus. It was also to enhance the perception that the community had about the college; to make the college look better to the community because of the past, A. has been looked to as an ivy league school and a lot of minorities didn't come to A....

Some of the faculty members on campus did not really want an increase of minority students to come here. They really didn't care. But along this period of time we had the Johnson era, you had the push for more Blacks ... supposed to increase the money, financial aid to schools that had more Blacks, so they had a push there. So you had more Blacks on campus. So this increase made a demand for the position to be more out there [in the community]. I tried to be more out there, different organizations, being on different boards, traveling a lot, still come back in the evenings and daytime to work on campus, and still be involved with that office. Situation, what really happened here, during that period of time they never hired anybody when I left, to fill my slot. They said they couldn't hire anybody because of my slot. Now if they really wanted to hire somebody they could have hired somebody.... So whoever last hired or whatever, they said they need a Black person, so the best person to get is M., push him back. We'll push him back, everything will be ok-ok. That's basically what they did. That was my long tour as the Acting Director of Minority Community Affairs....

[I] really didn't want to be here [in admissions]. I really thought it was a backward step. It really was a backward step. Because what happened was that, there was nothing for me to learn here, and there still is nothing for me to learn here. I'm just going through, making a pay check. I mean deal with daily activities, this routine stuff. There's nothing challenging about this....

Oh yeah, I'm also in charge of the Basic Studies Program. That came in probably during, when I was in the minority office and when I was a counselor. I was doing coordinating the basic studies program.... And the basic program was ... the purpose was to admit students who normally wouldn't get into the university, but had the potential maybe to be successful in college. So we had a basic studies program. And you want to know the real, real reason for the basic studies program? The real reason is

dollars, 'cause we were going through a situation where our enrollment was dipping, so they came up with a basic studies program to keep the enrollment from going down.... But we didn't have a very good supportive service program at that time so we couldn't do too much with them. All we could do was maybe counsel, talk, provide as much help as we can.... That went on for about 3 or 4 years. But I got sour because when I gave it up somebody else took it over, but I felt I was being used.....

After the situation of being director of minority affairs,... I didn't get paid extra for this. After a while you learn, and the more things you do, besides the job experience or your job, you didn't get paid for what you're doing. So I was doing it just out of self-gratification. ...Then you got to regroup, get yourself together, and refocus yourself where you want to go. I think the only avenue for me was probably taking courses, counseling courses. So I always, always continue taking courses. Any relief, probably from the drudgery of the job sometimes. Just getting the grades, going to school, things like that. Always have to have a safety valve. I think going to school, studying, reading, things like that, get involved with the community organizations had a lot to do with it. So even though things on the job weren't that great, but other things, other activities, personal things, they kind of balance out....

I feel that, can't say that I was discriminated against, but I would say that I wasn't given the opportunities that my fellow White administrators probably had more opportunities on campus. Even though there were not that many opportunities, but I think that they got more opportunities than I did. Being specific about that, there were some people that came after me on campus, not necessarily that I wanted the positions, but got positions that were higher than my position, and they had less credentials than I have, less knowledge of the campus, but they had the right connections. So. I think that's why a lot of Blacks during that period of time, still have to go through that network in communicating with White administrators. Blacks, are not necessarily going to have to kiss their butt, but sometimes if you want to move up in some areas, they're going to have to be involved more on campus.

[Re: moving on] There was very little support, to me it was, as a Black male it was. My [supervisor] a nice guy and everything, I have no problems with that, but as far as that kind of support, I really did not receive it. He was a nice guy ... that's all he was.... Maybe we weren't on that level that we talked personally about things. We never got to that level. I don't know, maybe it was my fault that we never got to talk about things at that level. Well, we did, we did talk about moving on, but he was never willing to give me support or to do some things and he should have given me support. When he gave me support, it was too late

sometimes. So we speak when we see each other, we shake hands, they were never one of the great things. I know some guys will say, we'll take you under our wings, we'll push you, we'll show you the way, I want you to do some things; I never had an opportunity to do that. Then again, I don't know if I would have probably, I know I would have done some other things if I had the opportunity. I applied for other positions: some of them came through and some of them didn't. And here I just got to a period of time where time just kept on going and going....

Oh yeah, I went and talked to them [higher level administrators], one time I went and talked to the president. That's why I got that Acting position. That was the other president. I talked to my dean about it, and he was nice and listened and said he would see what he could do, but nothing ever came out of it.... There was a position came up and I was the most qualified for it. Like you said, that time about [name], he had been here too long, people know you, people want to bring other people in....

We created a position, my committee, 'cause we were having problems with minorities being, White students on campus. So we created a position. Actually, the position we created was a person to work with minority students on the campus, but the president changed the position to Director of Supportive Services. Basically I applied for that position. Went for an interview, like you say, it was a BS interview, 'cause I wasn't going to get the position....

CP: So by you supporting Black causes and things of that nature, that was not what this president wanted.

M: No.

CP: So what did they want for the position?

M: They wanted a person, anybody Black could understand it, they wanted somebody that if they wanted to make them jump, they wanted a person to do it. 'Cause you owe them. If you come here and you're hired, you don't have tenure, so if you mess up, you're gone. So the only way he could fire me or mess over me is, by the faith of God, if I do something really stupid. As long as I do what I got to do nobody can touch me. So I can go out and say what I want to say and if it wasn't too kosher and so when promotion came up. And I didn't realize that until later but talking to people who got hired one time, you won't get nothing here....

Now out of that situation of me being supportive of Black males on campus, they offered me the position of being advisor to athletes because the Black students went and told them they wanted me to be advisor to athletes. That's the only reason. So that's why I'm doing that instead of just doing admissions.... Basically it came up because Black students, student athletes said they didn't have anybody to relate to at that level, and they didn't have any counselors. So the Board of Athletics - let me show you how tricky it is - appointed me to that position. The purpose

was to work with, mostly work with football players that had some personal problems....

CP: But you're still the Associate Director of Admissions.

M: Right.

CP: And you're directing the student athlete support program.

M: Right, no, no, no. Just individual teams, like the football, basketball and soccer, men. That's all that I work with. That's enough!... And this one I got for money. I got a good piece of money for this one. This is not counting my basic salary now....

CP:...So now you've been promoted to Associate Director, you used to be Assistant.

M: Well now I've got to tell you something else, I also went over as the Assistant Dean of Continuing Education.... I was Assistant Dean of Continuing Education for almost a year. Personally I didn't like the position; I thought it was a clerk type of position. Basically what I was doing was putting data into the computer, scheduling, listening to people's grief about their classroom sizes, no windows. It wasn't a position that you make decisions. It was almost the same position time-wise as the Assistant Director.... I'm Assistant Dean, [but] there's no power because there's no budget. You don't have anybody to supervise, you have no money. So that was only glorified computer puncher. So I did it about a year or so. If I had to stay there, I'd have stayed. What was good about it was the title, if I applied for other positions the title would look good on my resume, 'The Assistant Dean.'

[Returning to Admissions] So I said, "Naw, I don't want to apply for the job." So I had a couple of calls. She called me up, took me out for lunch and said, "I'd like you to come back," and stuff like this. And the other job really wasn't going that well, it was going all right, plus I was applying for other jobs on campus. I didn't get the other job on campus because that was again, the person that beat me out, the Director of Supportive Services left, he went to [other university]. He went there as Director of Minority Affairs. He had some problems with people on campus.... So what happened was, there was a three way go for the job: myself and two other guys. Neither one of the other two guys had the qualifications that I had, but again, because of my previous experience, I wasn't going to get the position. Plus some other things took place. There was a lot of politics that took place....

[As Associate Director of Admissions] It means that I'm supposedly in charge of operations, in charge of the office. It gives me a little more experience, being in charge of people, making decisions, on the spot decisions, everybody looking towards you to make decisions, and being able to carry things out smoothly.... I've been back here about 7 months....

[Relationship with his director] We're pretty good. I expect she won't be here more than two years.... We know each other, we work very closely together. We've only worked together about 7 or 8 months, that's all I can say. Time will tell.... I'm very fortunate in that I can go where I want to go, travel where I want to travel, the school will pay for it. The president and boards and all these agents, they pay for me to go to places. So as a Black man, a person, that goes to conferences and sees very few other Black men there, I'm very fortunate. The dean will do certain things like that. Compared to other Black people who don't have the opportunity to go to places like this....

[Director of Academic Support for Student Athletes] It's a low-key position; the administration don't give a shit about the position. They want to put on a show and tell. I shouldn't say that; the administration does care about it - football players, basketball players. But if they were really going to do something - well I can't say administration - the program is really not a fund-raising program so we don't make money off of that. So that means they can't contribute that amount of money to them. They care about the athletes, they really do. The president cares and the Board of Athletics care. I'm on the Board of Athletics now too. So I work for the board and I'm on the board...I don't know how you do that. You work for a board and get paid for the board.... But that's been pretty decent. It's a lot of time for me. It's something that you can get involved with the students.... The only frustrating things is the basketball players come in and they don't graduate sometimes because the basketball team in 7 years we've had 7 Black basketball players graduate, maybe longer....

[On working with the athletes; relationship with faculty] I think what happens is, being here for a period of time, I think people know me and I know them. So I can go in the cafeteria, I can go in the office, I can call on the phone and say this about this. It's not a thing where I'm trying to threaten people, it's that people realize that you're trying to do a job and you're trying to help the students out....

So I do a lot of things with Black male students....And basically that job was developed by student demand, not by anybody else. Specifically the Black students demanded that they wanted Black coaches, and so, they didn't get a Black coach, they got me and they hired one other guy.... That's a challenging position. I get a lot of enjoyment out of that. Working with all the young men, seeing them progress, seeing them taking charge of their lives, not just seeing the athletic program, but overall, seeing Black males taking charge of their lives. I think that's a great thing to see. We need more of that. What's happening now, it seems like we're having a situation where Black males are endangered species on campus. And I know it's a national trend. There's a serious problem and it's a situation now where

schools - and it may be subtly said, it may not be said at all - but schools are not doing as much for Black males as they've done before in the past.... As an administrator at a university, you're dealing with Black males, I'm very concerned about that. I'm very concerned about our future leaders, where do they come from....

[Re: any racial problems in position as Acting Director of Continuing Education] No, I was just like a part of the furniture there....

...You got to be better than your White male counterparts because when they look at you they say, "this is wrong, this is wrong."... When you come up for evaluations, come up for promotion, there shouldn't be any question about do you have, as [name] said, "Do you have the ingredients to manage? Or do you have the intellect to manage?"... I think that in a lot of places, specifically Blacks are now, not in great number but, from what I saw, more Blacks are getting into management positions, VP's, deans, all over the nation. So it's worthwhile to go through an experience....

[Making meaning] There are a couple of areas I could focus on. One is, I think that being a mentor in my later age of helping people to move through the maze of higher education, being a helping person. The other one is trying to have some kind of impact, minorities in higher education getting the opportunities to stay in higher education. And to have an impact on some change, and being a change agent. I've seen over a period of my 17 years of just being at this institution, that as myself, I went from being a very energetic aggressive Black man, thinking that things were going to change quickly, and then become disenchanted when things didn't change. Seeing the establishment from administration; they give you all the lip service, but really didn't want to make any major changes. So during that period of time I was a very big advocate for a lot of students on campus, developed a very ... positive image from the students here, specifically the Black students, of being someone who's going to get active to get things done. And I did. Be it negative or positive, I got some things done. So during that period of time, people perceive you as being a trouble maker or a person who was interested in turmoil on the campus or not working together as being a team player. Being loyal, loyal to the president, being loyal to the organization that pays you. That's one of the things that they look upon, who you're loyal to: "You owe me." I didn't owe anybody because I came here off of my credentials; I worked. And so that was some of the things I really looked at, is to be a change agent and to motivate people.... The other thing is that people recognize you, being able to say that, "You really helped me. If it wasn't for you I wouldn't have made it." And that's something that's - a lot of people can't say that, but a lot of you can say that. So these are some of the focuses, things that I always look back on my 17 years, saying it was a

challenge. There was some hard times, hard-ball play. You got battle scars; I don't tell people about them, I mean, I go and tell my wife about them, about me and the president almost had it out, or the vice-president - I'm on the shit list, things like that, then if I was going to get promoted, then I was going to get demoted. But I hung in there and kept my head high and kept going. Some people wouldn't say, "You should have gotten another position someplace else. You probably could've done better." I think sometimes when you run from things, when you don't stay and challenge people, they're going to forget, nothing's going to change. ...With my doctor's degree and some of the other things that have taken place in my life, it's about time for me to move on. To move on and meet some other challenges. We've hired some new people here, some energetic people, that will be able to carry on the struggle that we started. I think that it's good that they're here, it's good that I can move on too....

[Re: not being viewed as a team player] It was an incident, well the main one. One time I was an advocate for a basketball player. Came to my office, said he got some problems with the coach, and the coach promising to give him some money, rent, and things like that. He was a star athlete.... So I said let's find out, resolve, some things like that, talk to some people. And before I knew it, I'm the main man that they were saying that I'm pushing the kid. And I told him - but the person came to talk to me. And so they had a hearing and things like this, and people inquiring about that. The basketball coach and the athletic department were all pissed off... at me and pissed off at the kid because it got out in the paper, and the kid was saying he was supposed to get money from the university, money from the coach, the coach didn't give him the money, the coach didn't take care of his room and board. And once he quit the basketball team, the coach didn't do what he was supposed to. He told his mother. I can't verify it, all I did was try to help the young man out. Talked to the business office, talked to the VP, not the VP. And he came over, said, "M., what's going on?" Assistant to the president, and I'm trying to tell him what's going on. And before you know it, I'm the trouble maker in that situation. And to me it was more helping out a young man than anything else. From then on I wasn't looked upon as a team player because of that incident.

The other thing was that I knew, during that period of time, there were no Black basketball players graduating from this university. And I had some other agendas that were taking place too. The kids would come and talk to me, say, some of the things that were taking place on the team, there were some fights between the coaches and some players, and some names were called. There was bad blood. So it wasn't a positive thing that was going on. The kid left school, he didn't come back. The basketball coach, he never was eye-to-eye about things, but he's still here.

So another incident that took place - this was the most devastating incident that took place - that was earlier - was when the Black student union said that they were going to walk out on campus. Now, maybe I handled this wrong, but the Black student union president told me, he should have told me that and the strategy and everything he was going to do. And why he was going to do it: because they didn't hire any Black coaches, Black faculty, anybody to monitor the football program. They were getting on the sports program because no Blacks were graduating. And I knew about them going to walk out; he didn't tell me, but he told me they were going to walk out. That day they walked out they had a press conference and to give their demands. So I was advisor to the Black student union and I was called in and said, people call you in and said, "What's going on? Did you know about it?" I made a mistake: I should have said, "No, I didn't know about it." But I said, "Yeah." Shit. ...But it went on from there and I was on the shit list. They got after the person.... He led the walkout as president [of the Black student union]. So the president was very upset with that because of bad publicity in the paper and stuff like that. And also during this period of time I was president of the Black Faculty Consortium. So I had to speak up, I was the Black president of the consortium. So you know, I thought I had a little juice and I didn't have. You get the idea here, rally around me, I'm under a little pressure, my Black brothers and sisters. Ain't nobody coming to support me, so I'm out there by myself.... So I said, "Where's my backup here? Nobody backing me up." Everybody's looking out for their own vested interest. It wasn't there. So I was under tremendous pressure during that period of time. And by looking at it, as somebody said, his career, it's washed up here. So I said I better just leave this place now. But I stuck it out for a while. So what happened, the Black students, they kept pressure, pressure, pressure, about sports, stuff like this. So the football players got with the Board of Athletics, they said, "We want a Black coach, we want a Black administrator, we want somebody that we can relate to." They asked, "Who do you want?" They said, "We want M." And so they approached me, so I got it....

But as far as other positions that came up, I wasn't gonna get these positions. Like Director of Support Services: twice I applied for it, twice I didn't get it. That's the only one I applied for on campus, but I was the most qualified candidate. But still, it's politics and other things.... But it's who likes you, who doesn't like you.... You got to understand the dynamics that take place here, and if you understand that then you know where you're at, where you're coming from. And so I understood that.... Anyway they gave me that position of Advisor - but I was supposed to advise mostly Black students but it developed more into coordinating advising everybody. So I developed

that. I pushed, because once you get into it you want to make the job as attractive and as important to everybody....

And so it's alright, but I still have a bad taste in my mouth because I didn't get the other thing that I knew that I was qualified to get. And I understand the dynamics that took place there, that I wasn't going to get it because of certain things that happened in the past that they had a little vendetta against me; it wasn't a little vendetta, they had a vendetta against me. They had, "No matter what you do, you wasn't gonna get no position." That was the problem. It wasn't even worth talking to somebody else. You don't know what happened there in his past, why he didn't get the position. That's what I'm saying: it's good to be at a place but it's also good to leave a place. If I'm going to do anything, it's about time for me to leave this place. But, all the students would come around, rally around me during that period of time; it's a good feeling, the guys, very good feeling, very supportive, the students.

Now it's a change of year, you got new people in, and it's not the same old group, so I'm not as involved in the Black student union as in the past, or I'm not even involved with the consortium of Hispanic and Black faculty members. But I think that it had a lot to do with the support that I got when I was president, that I didn't get any support when I thought I should have gotten support. When I was out there on a limb taking a psychological beating, nobody would come and say, "Hey man, we know you're doing this, can we help you." No. Everybody was, to give you an idea, people would get promoted, professors, all the little things, because the administration knew they had to do something so they did something to the people that didn't do anything. But the people that really made the changes, basically weren't going to get anything. So the people would say, "Yes sir, no sir, we're going to sit down and talk about this." But they really didn't do anything. A lot of people here gonna give you lip-service, or smile at the president, or smile at the deans, the vice-president, and what's in it for them... In that case I lost. Not really, one thing I can say, I didn't lose, I gained. I gained my respect, my self-esteem; I felt very strong about it. You feel good about it if you know you've done the right thing.

You do the right thing. You don't feel too good about it because the opportunities and your future here are not going to be as great for you, they're not going to be as many for you because of that situation.

I hope to have the opportunity to be, and I want to be, if God's with me, to have the ability to be a dean or VP, 'cause that's what I would like to be. I'm making movements now, got my resume together, got to tighten it a little more, I sent some stuff out. I really am not interested in that position but I sent it in just to send it in and see what happens....

[As a Black administrator] You always keep that identity; there's no way anybody is going to take that

Blackness away from you. You always keep your identity I'm saying myself - perception of where you came from and where you want to go. But a team player, you play within the parameters of the team to a degree, but you always know that you are there for certain reasons, but you're also there to help minority students out or do other things to. But as a team player, that means that you're going to do everything within that team to promote the image or the mission of that college, but you're also going to try to bring along some of your other things that you're going to bring along. For example, if you're in an administrative position, you're going to try to bring along other [Black] administrators, you're going to try to bring along [Black] students, you want to try to promote their upward mobility.

Being a Black person on this campus, for years there's only a few, of males only two. The thing I have to hold on to is my own identity, who I am, where I come from. Maybe I don't give you the right answer but I give you some of the things that used to happen to me.... I used to go to the cafeteria and sit by myself, or go sit with some White colleagues because there were no Blacks around. So you were always in an area where you always felt, not threatened, but sometimes very uncomfortable. And you had to deal with that. I mean, it was there. If you didn't deal with your own inadequacies of saying, "I don't feel uncomfortable," so you develop your own skills to survive. You go and find mutual things to talk about. After a while you know that you're the only one, but after a while you forget about that, you just go and talk. Other things or that, or when you go to a social event. We used to have quite a few social events ... everybody's nice and like that but you still feel kind of uncomfortable, but you can still relate, you used to talk and all this, but it was just a different atmosphere. So you just got to hold yourself as an example, not to them but to yourself, that you can muster to hang in there, muster to do the job. When things get a little rough you can hang there too. As a Black person on a predominantly White campus, he has to be very strong, extra strong, because there are a lot of hidden agendas coming at you, specifically when I started, no Blacks on campuses in higher education. The only reason they put Blacks on campus was because the demand at the time. And so we were the frontier, the explorers, the survivors, and a lot of us are still here. And a lot of us have done a great job motivating and keeping Black kids on campus, and all minorities on campus. Because basically we're hired to keep minority kids on campus.... They needed somebody Black to fill the position, and so they hired me. They hire a lot of other Black people. But now I think it's changed. I think you start to talk about Blacks coming on campus who are qualified, who are competing for jobs, who have the ability to do it. They just didn't give me the chance to do it. There's still a lot of prejudice and other things that keep them out of higher education too. It's not going to change

much; there's not much you're going to be able to do about that, it's there....

[Re: maintaining identity] The students helped me out a lot, we had a lot of Black activities on campus and you come back to reality, you socialize with them, you see where they're coming from. You talk to them, you talk to them about keeping your identity, you try to keep the focus on keeping your own self going.... I think it was also my involvement in the community. I always lived in [city] so I wasn't lost here. I leave this job here at 4:30; when I go home, I go home. I go to other activities, social activities, involved with church, involved with the National Urban League conference, the NAACP, so I'm very active in the community. I still officiate football, softball, ... so I'm used to being out with all the brothers, I never lost that. I have my brother-in-law, all those other guys who teach Black History. We get down, discuss all kinds of things, trends that are going on. And we have some good discussions here on campus. We got some more Black faculty... so it's been a really worthwhile endeavor, some good conversations and things like that....

I just think that Blacks, from my perception of what it takes to survive in an institution, it takes a lot of fortitude, and it takes, a Black person has to develop some survival skills in higher education. That's a necessity, to survive you have to understand what's what, and you have to be able to sometimes adjust to that situation. I know a lot of times I had to adjust to the situation. You're not giving up any of your integrity, you're just learning the tricks of the trade, of the game, and a lot of times it's nothing but a game. It also is easy sometimes if you have a White colleague who can tell you the tricks of the trade early enough so you know what to expect, and I think that a lot of times you don't get that mentoring from White colleagues. They'll put you on a job and you have to fight for yourself 'til you learn these tricks. It took me years to learn the trade, and I'm still learning how to really to survive in a higher education institution. Because you'll be running around like a rooster with your head cut off trying to find out where to go and what to do, and they know exactly what to do and they can just sit down and do it and tell you that you got to do this and that....

And the other part is, keep your own self-identity, and where you are at and why are you there, and where you want to go. Everybody's not going to be able to go to be a president, but everybody can help another, a couple of Black students along the way. If they can do that, I think they're very successful. And the other thing I'm looking at, today the Black males are an endangered species. And I think it's up to most of the Black males on campus to be good role models and try to keep them in college. And go on out to the community and try to be role models, try to talk to kids, Black males, into coming to college. I think

that would help out a lot and contribute to the enrollment of Black male students at the colleges and universities....

APPENDIX H

PROFILE 8: Y.

Bursar in a private university, and 10 years at predominantly White institutions of higher education. Highest degree: master's.

Interview:

Y: [First job in higher ed] ...[I] wanted to get into higher education because that's what my background was in. And the job opened up at A.[university]. I had applied for it; it was in the registrar's office, and they didn't hire me. I was the ideal candidate, with scheduling. I ran into racism there. They were uncomfortable; there had never been a Black person that had worked in the Registrar's office, more or less scheduling activities, and offices, and classrooms within the university. The registrar was frightened. But I had the background and the credentials. 'Cause fortunately I had worked with some good people when I was in grad school that had me do internships at the university and gave me some very solid and strong background. The registrar was very uncomfortable. Well what had happened was there was also a position open in the financial aid office. So what he did do was contact me and say, "I have someone else who is a little stronger as a candidate than you for this job at the Registrar's office but I do know of another position here on campus in financial aid." Knowing that I wanted to get back in higher ed and I wanted to stay at the university, it was a way of pacifying me. And I took it, I accepted it.... For me, [the job] was my foot in the door in higher education...So yes, I felt the response from the Registrar at that point in time was very racist. I could never prove it; I couldn't take him to court; I couldn't file suit, cause the way he tried to handle it was to pacify me and find me something else.

So I went to financial aid, that's where I began my career in higher ed, very interesting experiences. You get very frustrated at A. because it was a very large university that was reluctant to invest money in becoming computerized. There's a great big financial aid office with a large staff, very high turnover rate, because everything was done manually.... I think the comradery amongst the staff was very positive, and it kept a lot of us alive...I was at A. about a year and nine months. We hired a new assistant director who came in - I was the only male in the office at the time - he came in and I guess I felt uncomfortable with him. One, because he was White, he was stepping on my toes.... I had to let him know what was going down; explain to him you better come on and fall in line with me. And he couldn't understand and accept that, which at that point in

time, that was my style, I was still being part of that era. I had to do what I had to do and he had to do what he had to do. And so I made it a point, let me get the hell out of here, cause I can see we're just going to bump heads and if anything, I'm going to take that old fashioned approach of trying to stick my foot in his behind. And that wouldn't have helped me professionally at all. So it was a lot healthier for me to make a move. For him it was very positive too, because I don't think he wanted to leave. It was easier not to have somebody there. One, I never was interested in applying for the Assistant Director's job. He obtained it. I guess I was a threat, being a Black male, and the only other male there....

I went out to another school,... that was a 500% improvement. I left the ice ages and went into the 1980's. Had a lot of growing I had to do very quickly leaving that old era, that old time period of doing things manually and moving into computerization. I left A. and went to B.[university] At A. I was a financial aide counselor, and at B. I was an assistant director, so obtaining the job there was a promotion, new and different responsibilities, a much more progressive institution. Things were a little more overt as far as racism was concerned at B. But I think people were more open to let you know who they were, where they were coming from, and they may not like you and tell you why. And to me that was healthy and important and I knew how to address you and deal with you....

But it was the mentality of the people working there that anytime a minority came in they would traditionally send them to see [a minority] individual. I have a friend who's Hispanic...every time a Hispanic person came in the office they would send him to him.... Well this person better learn to interact with everybody in the mainstream, if they're going to survive. That's the same way I feel about the minority students; not to say I would never turn my back, I never say, "No I won't interact with you. But you better learn to get along with these other people, cause I'm not always going to be here."... I try to stress that to the minority students, that you come to me as a last resort. I can pull the necessary buttons, but you go through the system the right way...You need to learn to interact, how to function within the system. And I will be the last resort. And if push come to shove, if this is gonna entail your departure from the school I'll do what has to be done, cause I'm not going to let you end up leaving here. But you gotta learn to deal with Mr. Jones and Miss Smith before you come deal with brother Mohammed....

So ya, there were acts of racism. There were a variety of things.... I sat on a couple of search committees.... Minority candidates would come in - for me, some of these things were new experiences so I was more of an observer, and I wanted to hear the comments, watch the body language, how people reacted to people. Because I was there as a member, people wouldn't just come out and say, "Well I don't want

that nigger here." But they would find things to say about maybe attire, the way they presented themselves, why does this individual want this job based on that background. This was very interesting. I remember somebody came in from California once, a lady, and they talked about her attire, which had nothing to do with her being able to get the job. They felt she had a low neckline on her dress. Well she didn't come here and offer anybody sex. And taking the job had nothing to do with sex. But that was one of the ways these people weeded her out, because the search committee was predominantly female. They were looking at attire...

I 've taken some of these experiences and now have applied them to my life to make sure when I sit on a search committee, that if that's a variable that's going to come forward and make a determination, it ceases right then and there. No we're not using that as a criteria... there's nothing on this evaluation form that says attire.... And if I know there's a minority coming, many times I will sit down with the person and read them the riot act as far as telling them the truth about what's going on before they get behind those closed doors. It's up to them to make the decision, 'cause I would respect anyone doing that for me.

[As Assistant Director of Financial Aid at B.]

People were not reluctant to tell you that - in financial aid - they were denied money - White people - because they were White and you were Black, and you were giving the money to the Black students. People were willing to say whatever came to their minds. To me that was healthy. In some cases you could have the argument and tell them they were correct; other cases you could curse them out, tell them where to go and how to get there....

Another example [of racism]: When I took the job at B. the Director of Financial Aid there was Black. I had gotten some feedback before I started the job.... He had gone through a lot of changes pursuing the job. He had been an Associate Director, he had applied for the directorship, and had been put through a lot of changes in getting the directorship. He had to file suit and when all was said and done he was given the job - I think for a duration of time period - to see if he was capable. I had learned that the staff had all gotten together behind his back and gone to the vice president to express their concern about him, and the fact that they felt he was not competent enough to run the office. I don't know if he ever got the feedback on it, but people told me point blank, blatantly. The first person he hired on the job was a Black man - me. We talked about that a lot; he and I became very good friends. My concern for him was that, what do these people perceive. First, they didn't want you here because you were Black.... How did they perceive this, "What are you trying to do - change the institution around?" People were very upset about that - very upset with him and me. He and I were two very different people. He was still where I once was...he was still that aggressive hard-core brother who still had a lot of

militancy. I was, but I learned how to handle it from a different perspective...and the White folks liked me. So it was a kind of thing - they liked me and they didn't like him. And very interesting because he and I had a relationship - I was able to get that information about what they wanted to do to him and things they disliked. And many a night I would sit down after 6 p.m. and have discussions about what was going on, because I felt I had to cover his back, even if I had to talk about him behind his back with these same people to find out what was going on. I had to keep him covered which is very interesting and somewhat deceiving.... More importantly, he got me involved with things, not necessarily within the university, but within the financial aid community on a national level - participating in organizations and things like that. So we protected each other, looked out for each other. Racism was very much so there on the job....

I think one of the problems for many Black administrators in higher education including myself is the fact that we didn't necessarily get, we didn't have that tutelage and guidance from someone else that was Black, that was an administrator ahead of us, which many of the White folks did. As a result, we go into a job, a managerial job, where we're getting our managerial training on the job, which in some cases we're going to be a little shaky, and it's going to be very evident. But we learn and grow. I have a few friends who have been in positions where they've been in charge, where they've had to step down to go back and retool themselves. I have a friend right now. It hurt me that he had to leave his director's position; he did it on his own, nobody asked. But he felt that he hadn't prepared himself.... And many of us didn't do that, including myself, so when the opportunity came to make more money and become in charge we jumped at the opportunity but we weren't prepared. And this brother may have been in the same position who was at B. as director, but he grew, he maintained and persevered, which is very positive.... [He was a] mentor, yes. Even today he calls himself my mentor. When we go out to conferences he'll even pull me aside, "I don't like your attire, man, you don't look presentable enough. You have to do certain things." I think some people could be offended by that, but as a mentor, I think a mentor has to take the time to look out for somebody: educate them, teach them certain things, how to interact with people, how to socialize, how to play the political game, how to politic, how to network. By the time I left financial aid, I had a very good network. In fact I still have good networks. It's been a while since I've contacted those people but for most of the [area of the country].... I could probably get somebody in college on the undergraduate level. I have friends in the financial aid community and admissions. And a few people higher up. I could make a phone call and get some doors open. And it could be a fairly late phone call, where I make a call in August for September enrollment, and still get some people in...So my network was pretty good and pretty strong. That

was something that he helped me create, establish, and help me to grow with that. So yes, he was a mentor, he was an educator, he was a friend, a companion, a variety of things - a very good person who taught me a lot.

By the same token, I had my own personal feelings and opinions about him. I think when you're Black, working for Black people - my boss prior to him was also Black, a Black woman - I think that you can be somewhat critical - along with the other folks. After I moved up and I became a director I called both of my previous Black administrators, Black employers, and I apologized to both of them for my own feelings - whether they were ever aware of how I felt toward them - I called to apologize to let them know that I know how hard it is now, cause I'm here... And being a Black administrator, and you reach the top where you're in charge and running an office, there are a variety of fires. And you have to pick and choose which fires you're going to fight. It would be nice if you had a staff where you could delegate certain things to people to fight some of those fires, but as a Black administrator, you find that you've got to do most of it to establish your name, maintain that name.... Five, six, seven years down the road, that will change if you bring the right people in underneath you....

[Relationship with Black female supervisor] Our relationship was so-so when I worked for her. She gave me the task of being a financial aid administrator to minority students, minority programs. And I wanted to know why she wouldn't give it to somebody White, because one, she knew I had come through the program, two, she felt that they needed to have a minority administrator or counselor to interact with. I thought that was good, but I wanted to do other things and I didn't want to be 'brother Black'. I'd worked at the school, I'd gone to school there and I didn't need that role. Because if anything I'm just overcoming my rebellious period, my hateful period and all I need to do is get in here with some young people and try to teach them that....

I took a group of students to Washington, D.C. twice a year to lobby about financial aid. The first semester that I went, there weren't any Black students. We go to the Blackest city in the United States, the most progressive, and I don't have any Black people going with me. So I went back to try to reverse that, to try to change it around where, "Hey look, Black student organization, this isn't costing the student a dime other than having clean clothes on your back. Learning about financial aid and meeting people. We're not going down here to play games with bullshit people, we're meeting the congressmen, your senators. We're meeting people that can do things." And I turned it around to where some of the Black students started to go down to Washington, D.C. with us...

When I reached B. I had grown and had decided it was time for me to start doing things for Black students - I always felt I had to -but to start doing things where I could

help them become a little more progressive and see other things that were available to them than the traditional things that were available at school. Because this wasn't something we would hear about - the exchange program, or going to Washington, D.C.- these programs existed. It just wasn't something we were conscious of in our little realm of activity.

CP: What made you feel that you had to do something?

Y: Because of B. being so progressive. Everybody was doing something or was trying to do something, or saying they were doing something. I felt it was important for me to do something. By the same token, because I didn't get involved in the right things I felt were right and healthy when I was in school. So taking my past, and applying my past to the present, to try to help other people avoid some of those pitfalls and obstacles, and take advantage of what was available to them while they were in school....

[So from B.] I went on to this little ridiculous school called C.[college]. I left B. for a variety of reasons. One, I wasn't paid that well. Two, I wanted to grow; I realized working under my friend at B. there were things I needed to do and wanted to do and those opportunities were not gonna be available at B. Although he hired me, he couldn't promote me. It was ironic, he couldn't move me up the career ladder the way I could have and should have been moved up.... There was a lot of little political jockeying there. That was one of the things. Also here I am Black, he's Black. He hired me; people tried to use that against him.... So I left because there was an opportunity available. The individual I was going to obtain the job with had been in financial aid for 19 years. He was well respected in the financial aid community outside of his college, to be honest with you. I figured if anything, I could learn from him. Nineteen years in the field, shit, you gotta learn something if you go in there with an open mind. I got there, my second day, and the man announced his retirement, and told me they knew about it during my interview; they kept it quiet. I certainly didn't go to C. to take charge. I really went there to grow and learn. I would go to conferences with the federal government - financial aid conferences where the federal government was there. This man could raise his hand - there could be 30 other people raising their hand - he'd be the first to be acknowledged. So I knew I was going to the right person as far as obtaining knowledge, learning and growing. I could go back and move on and do other things; it didn't work out that way. We only worked together 6 months at C. I was uptight when I took the job at C. He told me that he was retiring. I felt that I was being put in the position to be set up. And I tried to express that to people, "Why would you hire a young Black person that had limited experience in their field to put them in the driver's seat as director. What's going on here that you're gonna try to hide, that you're gonna let this guy become the fall guy?" I didn't know, but I had that

feeling. As far as I knew from looking at this man's books, everything was clean. But why were you trying to bring me in? Very interesting, when there were a lot of White people that were qualified. In fact, after I did the research and found who some of the candidates were in a very ironic way. I went to a conference when I was still working at B. - my last days there - the conference was in [state]. My boss introduced me to a couple of people as the new person coming on to C. and one person sitting at our table having breakfast with us turned bright red. Got up and left. Well, this person had applied for the job. As far as experience, background in the field, I couldn't touch the person with a ten foot pole or could be considered for the job. Then someone else worked at [prestigious] University as an associate director applied for the job, wasn't given the job. So all of a sudden - we didn't know this when we were sitting at the table interacting with these people - and this announcement was being made by my boss. Lo and behold, I started to see who these people were. Saying, "Hmmm." That's not to say I think lowly of myself or I don't think I'm competent and capable. But knowing these people - I know what their background and skills consisted of. Not knowing what C. wanted. Now there's no way in the world an individual could convince me, "Well we had to have a minority. That wasn't the scheme of things when we hired you. The bottom line was we wanted an individual that we could manipulate." I took the job there. It was not beknownst to me that this was what they were trying to do, but after I started to observe things within my first 6 months I knew something was wrong. I couldn't tell you what, but by the time I left it mushroomed. And a lot came out. In fact, my first week there my new boss who was the vice president said to me, "Do you think that we could ever take \$10,000 and put it in the president's hands, and let him use it as discretionary money for worthy students," he said, "from state money?" He said, "I don't think there's anything wrong with it." I said, "If you don't mind I'll call the state and ask." Well it's interesting that figure \$10,000 came out, 'cause in the long run, all the things that happened at that school, there was one figure that kept being ballyhooed about. I will never forget that. As I said, I think I was being set up. There were little things that came out to foster and strengthen that gut reaction I had way in the beginning. And some good friends of mine from the federal government advised me to get out of there. From the Inspector General's office in the U.S. Department of Education said, "Our advice to you would be to leave." I accepted what they said and the first train that was coming along that was offering me anything out of there, I jumped on and said, "Thank you, I'll see you later."...

I was comfortable with my vice president. Anytime I think I was having an anxiety attack, I'd run over to him. He was able to stroke me and ease things, smooth things over and make me feel good. This was part of a little political

ploy on his behalf. He left, and after he left, you know, he never acknowledged me anymore as a person. But he was soothing as my boss. He left and he became a faculty member. And I would see him out on the street and he would not acknowledge me. I could never understand that. But that was part of his job, the fact that, "While you work for me I have to acknowledge you and deal with you." And we're gonna talk about racism; there was obviously something wrong for him to do something like that...

[The next year and half at C. after VP left] I was the Acting Director of financial aid. I had been offered the directorship a couple of times, in fact. I was pushed into it. Because I was uptight and uncomfortable and I didn't understand why things were being done the way they were being done, I wouldn't say I reneged - I said I didn't want the job. There were times I played with it in my mind, but I knew better.... They hired a new VP.... Unfortunately I took her [the new VP] very negatively because she was a White woman from the South and she was looking for something in me, and I just think we didn't hit it off very well at all. Our relationship was very poor from day one. She tried to get me to pursue the director's job too but said, "By the way if you pursue that you have to give up your old position." Which meant if I didn't get the director's job, if I gave up my old position just to pursue it, that pulled me out of the position altogether, I told her I wasn't interested in it. And they didn't even call me in the meeting and ask me why. I said, "I have no desire." I already knew based on my relationship with her, that if I pursued it, it was her way of getting rid of me. I had learned after that that they had put a message in the higher ed financial aid community in [state] that they weren't happy with me and they were looking for someone to replace me with. They found a man. And we became friends and this man was hired on a durational temporary basis because of their frustration with me and my not wanting the directorship. And he told me outwardly that he was told he had the option and power to let me go any time he wanted; that the sooner he did it the better off he would be. But he didn't do it. The reason being, he knew financial aid but he needed my expertise. And I was appreciative that he told me the truth about that. That gave me new insight as to what was going on. The new director that came in eventually hired a new person. We had somewhat of a rapport, but so many things were happening at that school, it was much healthier for me to leave.... Professionally seeing someone take the things that I had changed and built and modify them and make them better to the point that that office was functioning very well, and not receive any credit for it, any accolade whatsoever. And I think I had problems remaining there, personally, based on the many things that were happening, having once been in charge and then really like - second fiddle step-child. You really don't exist anymore.... So C. wasn't offering me anything professionally. If anything it offered me problems

because I didn't know which way to turn. I didn't have the guidance anymore. I could always call the folks at B. ... but I really didn't have folks that I could network with, that could give me advice at school. 'Cause I didn't know the personalities or what was happening there.... I think I was hired because I was Black initially. I think the mentality was that if you hire one person who you felt didn't know what was going on, you could manipulate them I think they were hoping they were hiring someone off the street that had a degree. That within 6 months - they knew when that other director was going to retire - he or she could learn enough that he or she could be manipulated. Their goal was real manipulation: to call me on the telephone and say, "Do such-and-such, do such-and-such." Just have me running around wildly. They were willing to have me - my feeling -is to have me take a slap on the wrist from the federal government for any errors that I made and not adhering to the federal regulations. And say, "fine, he made mistake, we'll let him go." But by the same token, there were several favors that they wanted done....

I was really excited about [Director of Financial Aid position at D. university] and wanted to get out of C. I found in taking the job that I was put in a unique position. One, they had never really had a Black administrator. I was the only Black administrator on that campus. So that was very interesting. Two, that office had major problems. When I arrived, I found the students hated that office. So anybody taking that job was going to be in for an interesting experience. I really worked hard to change that. By the time I left, the students really respected and liked me; I was very appreciative of that. But there was a lot of hard work that went into it. It was really winning over their trust. They really didn't have any trust or faith in that office. An obstacle that was also in my path was the fact that I was Black. Here's a Black person dealing with predominantly White students, trying to convince them to trust me. It took a while, there was some skepticism. I'm sure there still probably is. But the commitments that I made I was able to fulfill and honor....

There was racism at D. It was very evident - the fact that there weren't any Black administrators. There were some positions available; there were a few Black folks that I had recommended for jobs that I had met in [city] that they overlooked Very quickly the Black students identified with me and started to come to me to seek information about any and everything beyond financial aid. One thing I will say is that the law school - the Black students in law school were very progressive. They fought and there were many changes that were made. When I arrived there may have been four Black professors in law school; when I left there were twelve.... Very interesting division between the undergraduate students and law school students. It was hard to bridge that gap, because the law school students were progressive and the undergraduate students were not. The

undergraduates were just lost. But by the time I left many of the undergraduates had started to interact with the law school professors - the Black professors here. So the Black professors there started to take the undergraduates under their wing and realized that they also had a responsibility to these students....

[Re: article with racist connotation in student newspaper] Folks just were upset at the way the article was written. In fact I was upset. But what I tried to do was as an administrator, as opposed to running around being the leader, I could sit down and counsel the students and advise them: tell them who to go talk to, how to present themselves, how to try to keep their composure. There were certain people that I knew, you couldn't send into offices; they just couldn't keep their composure. They'd go in and start cussing people out, and that wasn't necessary...

CP: But none of the type of activity I just heard you describe was part of your job description.

Y: No.

CP: You were clearly the Financial Aid Director.

Y: That's correct. That's correct. Something interesting, Friday afternoons were primarily Black [meaning] that the students would just converge on Friday afternoon about 2 o'clock in my office. One, to sit down and have a 'BS' session, but two, just to kind of relax and kind of pull themselves together.... I think it startled the university when they started to notice that just about every Friday afternoon, you'd see 15-20 Black people converging on the second floor of the financial aid office....

When I arrived, I hired minority students to work in my office. There was a lot of friction and concern about that. I dealt with it and said, "The heck with it."... So yes, what I was doing was way beyond my job description. I never was given anything in the way of acknowledgement, recognition, or anything for what I was doing, which I really didn't need. I was pleased that I could interact with those students and play a part in their lives. And knowing one of these days I'll see some of these students and I'll get the accolades from them, and the appreciation. They'll give that feedback....

D. had three campuses. There was a university Director of Financial Aid that oversaw all three campuses. Because we had a law school, which I guess they considered a prestigious professional institution, they felt my campus also had to have a Director of Financial Aid.... For the most part I had complete autonomy because he [university director] never came to visit me. Our communication was by telephone or memo. So when I interviewed for the job I was aware that I would have autonomy. They were very happy that I had been involved with financial aid on a national level, participating on various committees, serving on some committees and all. And they hoped that I would be able to continue to do that, but that job is just so demanding that I gave all of those outside,

extra activities up in reference to financial aid. I just couldn't handle that and work there and commute....

I've always had this philosophy that I'd like to - Jesse Jackson used the term "Rainbow Coalition" - I'd like to have a rainbow office where I'd like to have people of all ethnic backgrounds. One of my feelings is that the Hispanic population is growing very fast and many Hispanic people are now going to school. I had the opportunity to hire someone; I hired a Hispanic to work in my office. That was the first person I did hire ...not work study, professionally, which worked out very well....

Another good example [of racism]. My boss wrote a letter that was being sent to students. Because I was director of my campus we would never let anything go out under his auspices. I took the letter, and my secretary just changed the bottom with the name on it. I said, "Send that down to Admissions and I bet you \$20 they will rewrite that letter because they felt I wrote it." She bet me; she lost the bet. They came back and rewrote the letter. So I called my boss and told him. I said, "I knew they were going to do this but I had this little game I wanted to play. I tried to show people what racism is all about. You know you wrote the letter. I didn't change it, but I changed the name at the bottom." He got upset and said, "Why did you give them my letter?" I said, "Because I share everything that may affect that office, that affects another office, with those offices." And he was very frustrated with the fact that they changed the letter. I knew they would change the letter because they felt I wrote it. And one of the respect factors I find was that many White folks within a school just don't think you're competent as a Black, in way of writing, speaking, whatever else. Some of those skills, I worked very hard to bone up on, especially when it comes to public speaking....

White folks never had a problem with me at D. with that. In fact...I think they were always surprised I could talk, and they'd always come pat me on the back, "That was a very good presentation." Like, "Whoa, there are people out here who can talk."... At D. I was giving about 18 lectures a year, if you want to use lectures. Because we had three different admissions offices, the law school, grad school, and undergraduate admissions office on my campus, I had to deal with those populations in reference to orientation, other kinds of things. I'd go out to high schools, you name it, I participated in that. Because I was a Black administrator at D. the school decided to use me. They had a lot of Black people coming in, different groups, different organizations, and I would talk to them.

One of the things I decided to do was to get the White administrators out of the room so I could talk to the students down-to-earth. The White administrators didn't appreciate that but I wanted to be able to swear if necessary; I wanted to have a down-to-earth conversation with the students that came in.

Working at [city] was unique. There were some very strong significant Black populations right in those areas. Because I was Black, the admissions offices would always bring in Black students for me to talk to. I felt that was good in many ways because I'd be a positive role model. In other ways it was frustrating because if they were trying to recruit these students, their first interaction with someone on the campus would be admissions, their second would be with me. Well, that certainly didn't depict the institution. I'm the only Black there on campus. So you're seeing a Black person who's giving you his presentation, and spending a long amount of time with you, you may think there are other people around but I always tell them, "When you walk through this campus, you take your tour, start being observant of how many faces of you're own do you see." So I thought it to be interesting that the university used me in that sense. I made it very clear, I conveyed it to them... "I don't think you had that many Black students come through this campus before I arrived."... They couldn't respond. There was some embarrassment.... The first two times that it happened I was a little surprised. "What's going on?" I presented right to my boss, and he thought I was very astute the fact I picked up on it so quickly. "But why else would you be bringing such a large segment of the Black population here as high school students. You're bringing in sophomores, juniors and seniors to communicate with me. Why?" "We're trying to beef up our enrollment, and you're the perfect role model." Uh-huh.

What was more frustrating was nobody had the respect, or the decency to sit down with me beforehand and convey that.... If they're gonna do that [utilize your services], they may as well go and compensate you. You know why you've hired somebody. One, they have certain skills, certain expertise. Two, they are also a minority. Now if you're planning to use this person in an area a little beyond their job description, tell them that and compensate them. You start to evaluate other people, they have a job comparable to you, but they're not doing all of these things, the same things. You may be out doing a little more, or there are other things they're doing, but still doing a little bit more, compensate. Compensate them. I don't even think a stroke, a pat on the back is that bad, but there are many times when you're not even going to get that. I think as a Black person, as far as working in higher ed, you have to work hard even to get stroked....

I started to keep a folder of those very good little letters and the next time we were going to sit down and negotiate a pay raise, I was pulling it out. "How many other people have received 15 of these. So I think this should be a part of your evaluation of me." So I started to learn these little things....

I was paid fairly well at D. It was the first time I had really broken into the \$30,000 range...I'd only been here 2 years, my salary had jumped \$8,000. And so I was very

appreciative this man was able to come along and compensate me, but I felt I even deserved more. But I played little games.... A few times, just before a pay raise I'd sit down and tell him that somebody else had called me about a job. He certainly didn't want to lose me....

[Re: new White counselor] She had problems with the fact that here are Black students working here, Black students were coming by to visit. I gave her the task of having the work study students report to her, so she wanted to change things with them. And she found some obstacles because the students had been accustomed to dealing with me in the way I had run that shop. If anything, she really didn't take the right approach, which was her problem. So she really ended up struggling and suffering with those students. She went and tried to do some some underhanded things. My boss called me and said, "Y., we need to meet." Fortunately, one of the students got wind of it and told me what was happening before the meeting. I had known a week in advance. When I went to the meeting I was already prepared to resign. I went there with an open mind that hopefully what I think has happened isn't going to happen, but if it does, well....

So I was unappreciative that - I'm going to use this term, "subordinate" of mine - would go to my boss, number one. Number two, my boss was not respectful enough to come to me one-on-one and express concern about this. He decided that the three of us should have a meeting. I was more frustrated with the fact that since he still didn't give me the professional courtesy of a least, when he called me on the phone four days in advance, of telling me what this is going to be about. I got it from a student. The students there covered my back. So as a result, I had some insight as to what was going on. I played with it everyday going to work, how I would handle this. I really didn't want to quit, that was the last resort. But that was the first thing that popped out. In many ways it lifted a lot of burdens off my shoulder, because of the commute, because of many of the problems that did exist and I felt, "Well damn it, if you can do the job then go do it."...

CP: So your boss at anytime within the meeting, never gave you your just position of being the director?

Y: He tried to...but as soon as the meeting started, after about the first 5 minutes I said, "I'm going to respond and I'm leaving."... I took the bus back to my campus, a little saddened by what had happened but ready to deal with it. And got back. The phone call had already been made to my staff letting them know what had happened. When I got there they were already aware that I resigned.

CP: So a phone call was made to your staff by whom.

Y: It had to have been the director, telling them I had already left. I guess, if anything, it was to make them aware. They had already decided the type of person I was, that I was going to go back there and go off or whatever. I think even security was alerted. I went back, and I had packed some boxes, put some things together. I met with

various people on the staff, told them that I had left. And the young lady I had given the scholarship to, I made it clear to her that if you're going to continue to receive this, you've got to continue to work....

[Support from Blacks in Law School] I did not consult them [law school], didn't think of it. I may have thought about it, but didn't pursue it because I look at certain things where I'm not interested in a whole lot of bullshit, opening up happening and me being the center of it. If I feel that there's a fight and it's legitimate, see I didn't see where that fight was necessarily legitimate. I could've shut-up, taken the slap on the wrist that he wanted to give me and gone about my business, 'cause I'm sure that's all he wanted me to do. They wanted to put me in my place. That's all it really consisted of. But I had worked too hard, changed too many things to let some little bullshit like that happen. So I didn't need that to be a controversial subject or item for us to rally around. If we were going to rally around something, it would have to be a little more significant than that, and I'm not the thing....

The bursar's job at E.[university] where I'm currently employed opened up and I readily took the job. The president has been there less than a year, the finance department is new, the vice president had been there nine months, controller has been there three months, so everybody was new. And they had just purchased a new computer system, and they just implemented it, so all of these changes and all of this newness had me exited: "I'm not going into a place where everyone knows what's going on. We'll still be setting and establishing policy and changing some things slowly but surely." That wasn't the case. They went in and everything that existed, they've done away with. Everything's brand new. And nobody seems to know what's going on. It should be interesting at E. I anticipate some degree of racism. There are students now that are going to come in and they're going to have to pay me, there going to have to deal with a Black person. Back at D.[university] a lot of the White students were frustrated to have to come in and ask a Black person for money. Some students would come in and grovel. There were students that had MONEY, to have to come and beg. And it wasn't that I wanted you to beg, but by law, you weren't eligible. Parents even came in and they were very uncomfortable and very unhappy. [County] was very, very unique; there's money there. And many people were not accustomed to dealing with a Black person...

I anticipate that at E. because now, as opposed to giving out money, I'm collecting it. And I arrived there after the semester was over with, so I've had the opportunity to work there, learn little things about the system before the semester begins.... I've inherited the entire staff. I don't feel any racism. I feel some insecurity there, unsure of what I know and what I'm capable of doing. I've talked to some of the Black people that have worked there and I found that some of the Black people that worked there are surprised

that I got the job. They've told me that some of them have worked there for years. They've told me about other positions that have been available that they've advised friends to apply for that were qualified, that weren't considered. I think the only reason why I got this job was that I knew financial aid and I had interacted with the bursar....

My goal from here would probably be to move up in some way, shape, or form to head a finance department within a school, also to move on to the faculty, but I'd like to run a finance department where I'm in charge of the entire budget, Vice President of Finance. Of course eventually with that background, the next step would be becoming the president. Granted, there are very few presidents that come in with administration. Most of them come in from the academic area. So many of them don't have that administrative background, but that would be the goal in the long run....

My expectation is that things will get better. In fact there's even a new job now I'm thinking about, not that I'd like to leave E., but there's something that's more intriguing. When you find something that's a challenge, that's a little more up your alley, you look at it and say, "uh-huh." And I've looked at it and said, "uh-huh" with a very open mind, it just really encompasses working on a resume. If I do, I'll pursue it. If I don't work on my resume I'll stay right where I am....

[Making meaning of life experiences] I'm not sure what I really want to do. I know I want to stay in higher education and work with students. The different things that I've done this far, I've gotten involved in, I've learned a lot, I've enjoyed different aspects of it, but to say that this is something I want to do - no. I hope that each thing that I'm doing I'm learning and grasping something that when I move up to a certain level, which I'd like to become a vice president in some way, shape, or form somewhere in higher education. I can take some of the skills, and some of that background and knowledge and apply it to my job. But I've never really sat down and set up a plan.... So in that sense I feel that the job is meaningful, my jobs have been meaningful, because I've been able to teach students some things, give them some background, help them along, hopefully help them spiritually and to be a role model. To realize that, one, yes you can make it, having been a student, having worked in higher education, I know the highs and lows, some of the frustrations, try to help them deal with that and cope and give them a better self-esteem by having them work near me, around me, in offices that are much more positive than working in a kitchen, washing dishes, sweeping the floor.... I think that the experience working in an office, interacting with people, having real responsibilities, is crucial. So there's been some meaning. It's been meaningful....

It hasn't just been minority, interestingly enough, I will try to hire a wide spectrum of students beyond minority, even White students, and part of my feeling, I want to expose

them to what it's like working for a Black or Hispanic, and we're human beings also.... So I try to have a good mixture of people where I'm teaching everybody....

Realistically, I'd like to pursue the doctorate. I think that my jobs have prepared me for a career in higher education and the academic circle. I've been in administration, on the administrative side; I'm ready to get into the classroom. So the first task would be pursuing the doctorate degree. The next task would be to continue to work in administration, but slowly but surely start teaching some courses, maybe through continuing ed, and eventually saying goodbye to administration. If you want to look at a game plan, I'd say within the next six to seven years, looking at my age, I don't have any choice or alternative but to make those moves and fulfill those goals.... My goal all along would be to try to inspire people through these courses....

[The Black administrator at predominantly White institutions is] Fighting. Fighting most of the time, trying to survive, trying to be sensitive about racism, trying to dispel it and say, every time a situation arises - a situation that's negative or derogatory - not to take and say this was a racist act, or racism perpetuated this. Always being challenged. Having to be stronger than some of your peers that are not minority. Black, in the sense that, if you make a statement, you'd better have more than enough documentation to substantiate and back-up what you say, whereas your colleague who's not Black or Hispanic, can make a similar statement and not have to go through that. So you have to work much harder and be a lot stronger in many ways. So I see it being a constant battle. You're working in an institution that's traditionally White. You're Black, so you're new, that someone new filtering in, even if you've only been around 18 to 20 years isn't very long for people to infiltrate a system. So we're still learning and hopefully we're passing things along to other [Black] people....

If anything, I've had people that have been a mentor to me, so I think it's time for me to turn around and be a mentor for someone else.... [On how a mentoring relationship needs to operate] I think when you're interviewing someone if you feel very comfortable with that individual during the interview, some other things you want to convey to them is the fact that you're interested in hiring them, but you're not interested in keeping them on that level. If anything you might foresee them move up and out of your shop. Although one of my Black employers made that very clear to me, made it very clear that, "You're here. I can't pay you what you're worth, but I can try to give you the basic necessities as far as skills and knowledge that I have to move you on." And he hired me knowing that I was taking the job, this position was going to be a stepping stone and there wouldn't be any real longevity to that position....

When we look at recognition, we can look at professional growth. Many of us are hired and we're locked into positions. We want to grow, we want to move up, but the

system isn't prepared and will not allow us to do so. Many of us have to fight, struggle. Many of us who want to move up, we'll have to relocate. I think that there are more than enough qualified Black professional administrators out here who are capable, doing the job. Presidency, right on down to being a janitor. We need to be given a shot and that's something that doesn't exist. And I think for some of us we're going to have to move on to the historically Black college in order to move up. And that's going to be very competitive because we're going to be competing against our own peers right there within those institutions, and I guess we'll say the best man may win. In some cases it may not be the best. So recognition is something that we're jockeying for. Respect. I guess that still really falls under the realm of recognition. Recognition really spells it out....

What's unfortunate, many minorities are in jobs, not to be Mr. Minority, or brother Black or sister Black. They take the job under the pretense that, "I'm qualified. I'm here to do the job." Lo and behold they end up doing the job, and then being the Black administrator in addition, catering to the Black students in that particular area...

I think when you have 5 or 6 Black people working with you and there is no unity amongst the group, I think it can cause many, many problems for you, because I think that we tend to be a lot harder on one another than White folks are on us, at least face to face, and I guess behind one another's back. I think White folks are on us, but they're not on us 24 hours a day. We're on ourselves all the time every time. I think in order for the Black professional to grow he's got to do things, as I said before the three Q's : quickly, quietly and with quality. If you're gonna take a job, you go in and take it, do what you have to do. If you ever reached your apex as far as your career is concerned, I don't think you look at an institution with the intent of staying there forever, which says that you can go, you can do whatever you need to do in the way of growing, but you've got to move on and continue to move on until you reach that point where I guess the Peter principle comes into play. You've reached your state of incompetency. If you ask White folks, I think they assume we reach it with our first professional job....

"I'm still accessible to the students, I will do things, but I have my life, my little job, and that's it. If you ask me, I'll come to _____ and help, but you've got to knock on the door and ask. And some cases you may have to bang if you really want me and need my services." I think we find some of those people in higher education that have good minds that are very creative, that would be a valuable asset, but they've reached that point that they've thrown in the towel.

CP: How did they reach that point? What is making them throw in the towel - the institution, the black professionals?

Y: All aspects. We'll deal with the institution first. Institutionalism: just being in an institution, going to

that job everyday, doing the same things. For many of us in higher education, our jobs are redundant. I think the faculty have a little more flexibility. Obviously many of those can go on sabbatical, so there's a little more flexibility. Many of the faculty members have their summer's off, so there's some leeway to get away from the institution. Many administrators that aren't able to leave the institution, they don't have the flexibility. They're in the same job, doing the same things on a daily basis. There's little room for creativity. When you're new and you come in, there's room for creativity, but after a certain point in time, there isn't very much room for creativity and you find as you try to be creative 5 or 6 years later, people try to stifle that. So there's an institutionalism...in general...we're talking about institutionalization.

We'll move on to the Black community and people. I think that we can get tied down to one another where part of it is institutionalization where every time I see the person they're saying the same old thing, "I need some new energy, some new insights, some new things conveyed, and I'm tired of what you're talking about - the same old thing... We try to get in and dissect people and get to find out about their vices, their weaknesses. It's very interesting when we do this. And we're now talking about the Black community and our interaction with one another and the problems in higher education. I think one of the nice things involves the students, where you may see a student for 5 years maximum, so in some cases that's a very positive thing and a good outlet that you can participate in a student's growth and development, see them move on. Maybe in some cases, down the road, see some of their accomplishments.

I don't know whether I've answered your questions in reference to institutionalization, interacting within the community, and we can move on to the White folks, just dealing with them in general. It's a challenge and a chore. 'Cause you've got to be on guard and on your toes at all times. Anytime that you have reached a low point, you'd better lock the door and do certain little things that pertain to you where you don't have to interact. 'Cause when you're at your lowest point, when you're just not 100% there that tends to be the time when folks pick up on that and start coming to you and divulge, show some of your weaknesses. No one's strong, that strong. No one is perfect, but we do have our highs and lows as human beings. And when you reach that low I think you need to go behind closed doors. 'Cause people are always looking for that, especially within a White community, or a White institution directed towards a Black person. They're always looking for that edge to find out, "Well where do his or her problems lie?"....

Well for me it's a high point because I'm helping, I'm working with someone to see them grow.... So it's exciting, it's very exciting to see this person in ten years, or hear about this person or read about this person in ten years, to

see that they have accomplished certain things and achieved some things. And you played a part....

And I guess I have some little revenge for the White folks too. Some little revenge for the White folks. If anything, to make sure we [Black people] don't fail. The other thing is, there are a few folks that put some obstacles in our path, that I have to send a little memo to them...just to let them know, "yes, you may have provided obstacles, but I'm still alive." Some of the people that I've had bad things with that have been employers, I have often thought, from a very angry perspective that how I'd like to repay them. I think it's healthier to go on to and succeed and achieve and let them know you're still alive. I think if they were really trying to do harm and prohibit you from making it, probably be morbid for them to find out that you did....

I have never marched in any of my graduations or ceremonies. I did that for the first time at D. One, because I was the only Black administrator on campus I felt I had to do this. Interesting the way D. set it up. They had administrators from all the campuses participating in commencement. So I wasn't the only Black there, but I was the only Black, obviously, representing my particular campus....

So there are things, yes, that I'd like to do as an administrator, a vice president, that would help to strengthen the Black population. More importantly, I think I would also want to have meetings, large meetings. People may say that may be racially motivated, but I'd want to know what's going on. "What are your problems?" [Large, meaning] the Black and Hispanic employees who work there, administrators, staff, faculty. There are things that we could do, I think on a social level too. There are things that we could sponsor. There are things that we could do. We could make sure that Black History Month is successful, that we're all going to pitch in from A to Z. That's just one little event. But also to highlight some of the other achievements of Black people of other days that exist. Their dates of birth, certain inventions, things they've created, certain patents. There's always something that can be done....

APPENDIX I

PROFILE 9: A.

Director of Academic Support for Athletes at a public university, and over 20 years at predominantly White institutions of higher education. Highest degree earned: doctorate.

Interview:

A: My primary motivation [in leaving B. college] was that I wanted a little more administrative experience at the higher ed level. The dean at B. where I was teaching in the college of education - some departments they rotate but at B. in the college of education that policy did not exist and so I just felt as though I'd like to leave. And I did. And I accepted another position. Two, I was called from them. [state university of C.] They actually recruited me to be honest with you. They called me and asked me if I knew of others that would probably be interested and I told them I would look around. Then when they called back they said, "To be honest with you we're interested in you."...

I went to the state university of C....in [city]. I was the Associate Director of Special Programs. Within special programs I did the traditional things, recruited minority students who would not have been admitted according to regular university criteria....

It was good experience outside of A.[university] in administration. And to me these programs were very necessary so I felt as though I could make a contribution. So again, the reason why I'm saying the programs I thought went very smoothly was because there was a commitment from [the state], they had money, and there was not a lot of problems up there because, I don't know, it just seemed that the people on campus and the few that were there got along so there was not a lot of problems. I guess for me it was not the most exciting position to have but it was a good experience....

I was primarily responsible for the day to day operations of the program. I also supervised all the counselors and the tutors. I was a liaison between the various academic departments.... I found a little more resistance there. There was some resistance because probably some of the professors may not have all together been in agreement with bringing in, having such a program on campus. I would say there was some resistance there....

Again, there were very few minority faculty there. And there was this special assistant to the president that was a Black person. I would say that university was typical in America from the standpoint that then in America we had started to include a few more minorities; the universities

were not prepared for that. The administrators, the faculty, the professional staff, the custodians, the clerks, no one had, I don't think, been given any preparation that we will be bringing on a few more minorities or some minorities, and minorities' lifestyle, language, is like this, your lifestyle, language style is like this so there's a possibility there might be some kind of misunderstanding because of insensitivity or whatever. I don't think the state university there was any different than any in the country who had not had a significant number of minorities on campus. I would say they were growing. So it was not easy to accomplish some things, but again, wherever minorities were on campus then, that was part of their responsibility and that was to push the campus, to move the campus, to help the campus to understand that it's not prepared yet. But the problem is not the students; the problem is minds, our attitudes towards the students....

C: Now the minority caucus, that was made up of the Black professionals on the campus?

A: Yes. Probably the Blacks on the campus, whether they were professional or not, faculty, staff, and whoever else. There were probably not that many non-professional staff there.

C: Was that something that developed while you were there?

A: It was in process when I came in. I think I was part of the process.

C: Of bringing more folks in.

A: That's right, because they were looking and that's one of the reasons why they called me. And later on they said, well we're interested in you. I felt at that point I did want some more administrative respect. I felt it was a good opportunity. Plus I would give [state system] credit for - they had an awful lot of statewide conferences for both minorities and others pertaining to increasing minorities in the [state] system....

C: The minority caucus, what were some of the issues that they were working towards?

A: I would say the basics: the treatment on campus as professionals and as students, hostile attitudes of some people, whether they were administrators, faculty, or clerks. It may have been money for the students, maybe the kind of food that they were serving people, forgetting that there were other ethnic groups on campus, the type of programming that maybe student affairs was sponsoring. I would say the basics; just helping them to understand that there are people here other than just White people, that there were people of color there and that some of their needs had to be addressed.... I would say that there was no plan that was so good that you could just see things happen for the betterment of minorities there without being organized to make certain that things happened....

[At D. state university].... For the most part in my life, I was always recruited, even as a professional person.

The vice president for student affairs at D. had graduated from A.[university]. And I believe that they were concerned about bringing in people that could get, I guess, certain kind of jobs done. I was recruited. I was invited out to come. What I did, there was a department there of minority programs. I was the associate director of this department of special office of academic and enrichment programs. I was the associate director of that program but I also directed one of the programs, and the program I directed was a federally funded program: special program for disadvantaged students.... I was more concerned about trying to work in these types of programs, helping to recruit minorities, and helping minorities, and helping to increase enrollment, and helping increase retention, than just being a full professor in education.... I served as the associate director of the department of special academic enrichment programs. As I said, I also directed the program, which was more money. So I'm saying the money too, all along the line here, was a factor too. I had this opportunity and I was recruited. And I felt as though there was a challenge there....

[Re: D. university] Naturally the universities were not all that receptive and open to having these types of programs because I think most universities in this country always felt as though these special programs were something they did not want to have on their campus. I think they saw them as burdens and unnecessary, taking the place of more qualified students and all that type of thing. So I don't think the university for a while had to worry because the programs themselves were at it with each other....

Again, I saw "here we go again" from the standpoint that everything had to be overclarified pertaining to minorities, programs, etc. So again you might say a university at large that was not really prepared for the inclusion of minorities and minority programs in a significant way. I really feel that in the country that was one of the major problems in the latter part of the sixties and early seventies when they wanted to increase their enrollment of minority students, I don't feel today that universities and colleges in America have ever deliberately planned for genuine inclusion of minorities and minority programs on their campuses. I don't think that minority administrators for the most part are welcome by the large part of the campus....

Another thing I found when I got there was that for these 90 students, if we employed 12 professors, none of them were minorities. So the first thing that I insisted upon was I'd like to integrate the staff of the special programs. Actually within my own hierarchy there was some resistance.

The students were 90% Black and probably 10% Hispanic, or 85% Black and whatever else. For as long as that program had existed, and I believe, say maybe five years, none of those professors I don't believe had ever been people of color. So one of the things I insisted upon, which I got a little resistance from the executive director, was that we employ, at least integrate the staff of the summer program.

How can we say to the university, desegregate and you know, and we ourselves had a program that was totally minority student and totally non-minority teaching. The first thing that came up, even our minority administrator said, "Where can you find qualified minorities." I said, "In [local cities]." I said, "Just allow me the opportunity to do that." Well I got great opposition because the executive director felt as though the other faculty members here, that's how they earn a little extra money. I said, "Are we interested in faculty earning a little extra money or are you interested in these students coming to campus and having some people, role models and others that they can identify that already understand their lifestyle or language, et cetera." My job was almost in jeopardy because I wanted to integrate the program that I was director of. Well it came to pass because I went to some of the faculty members who were teaching and told them what I'd like to do and they said, "Great, because we want to travel anyway in the summer." They said no problem. I went back and told the executive director and he still had reservations about it. But we were able to integrate that staff....

The executive director was quote-unquote Black.... Which means I'm not sure he was committed to genuine inclusion of Black students and Black thought and Black administrators, et cetera, Black program at that school. I felt as though he was benefitting financially but I'm not sure; having a Black person as faculty or administrator does not always mean that university has a Black person. I don't think you have to be extreme or fanatic about all this but I'm just simply saying this person, as far as I was concerned, was not altogether that committed to Black people, the inclusion of Black faculty, staff or students at that university.... Again, it was very challenging because here you get the opposition not from a so called White administrator, but from a Black administrator. To integrate the staff of a Black program that had primarily, almost all Black students. That's something....

One of the things that helped me was that the vice chancellor for student affairs was a Black person. I feel as though that really helped an awful lot. For the most part whenever it was necessary to meet with anyone other than him, he was there or he had spoken, whatever, so a lot of the so-called breaking the ice or whatever, he was willing to do. He was quite articulate, quite committed to minorities, to minority programs, et cetera. So I would say I think it does help to have a minority at higher levels in higher education....

I had a chance to see that just because you have a minority supervisor doesn't mean that things are going to go well. And that doesn't mean that this minority supervisor or executive is always going to be speaking up for you in various meetings. And it doesn't necessarily mean that this minority administrator is going to be saying to other higher ups that there should be some inclusion of minority students

and programs and faculty here. It just shows to some extent that it boils down to people to some extent. There are various people that are willing to try to be open, receptive, and helpful, and then there's some people that regardless of what ethnic or racial group they belong to, they're just going to be closed-minded....

I was called from E.[state university]. They said, "We've been looking for you for three years." And what they said was that with what we're [dealing] with, we feel as though you can give us some assistance. And I personally felt good about that because I felt as though I was good in terms of working with people of various diverse ethnic backgrounds.... What I accepted there was an associate director of what they call Educational Opportunity Program. Again a federal funds program although they called theirs [name] because it was more state supported than federal supported program. It had longevity and it had history and it had money, and things like that; real commitment.... Again there, I was an associate director of [overall program] but director of the special services program. As the associate director, I assisted the director with the supervision of all directors of all the programs, writing reports, attending meetings, things like that. And as director of the EOP along with the special services program, in our entire EOP program, it was a very large program, big budget, we had about 12 to 18 full-time counselors. We had about 12 full-time instructors. And we had about 1000 students in this program. It was like a small college to me....

But again, there were a lot of internal problems in that program.... In terms of counselors and teachers and administrators clashing which to me hindered the progress of trying to have the program grow and really help students.... It was not just the campus at large that was causing problems to minority students, it was also internal problems.... Again, it always goes back to money and programming, and why aren't you going to respect the administrator. And sometimes there might have been a lack of respect because the person was Black. I don't know if I could say what the one reason for internal problems but they were there....

C: What was that experience, what was the environment at the larger institution for a minority staff person?

A: I would say I was like cracking ice at that institution there. They had a group there they called [nickname] These were White administrators. They were referred as that because it seemed as though these were some of the chief administrators on campus who were anti-minority programs and minority students. Naturally they didn't like to be referred to in that type of way. It might have been people who were chancellors and deans and faculty or administrators but it seems like the people who had the authority there had been referred to by minorities as [nickname]. There the resistance was very great in terms of I don't think that they felt those programs should be

there... and I don't think they felt as though the students should be there.... But I felt there there was very subtle, "let's get rid of them, get them out as soon as possible," because the way I saw the program there was, "as soon as we can, we're going to phase it out, smother it."... In fact, it was said that, one of the minority administrators there, it was said that he had been brought in - and he was the highest ranking, he was at the associate chancellors' level and all of these programs reported to him - and it was said that he was brought there to get rid of these programs....

C: I'm trying to figure out if they wanted the program to fail, why hire you?

A: That's a good question. That's what I learned later that it seems a little contradictory here. Why are you going to go out and get a shot gun to con me in and try to really save the programs with my background in administration and a Ph.D. in administration, to really talk about refinement, improvement, and long standing, good foundation, rebuilding, overhaul, streamline. Why are you going to bring in a professional to do this and then at the same time you learn that this is not genuine. So that was one of the first things that I detected was that there seems to be, yes, it was said, it was said indirectly that hopefully one day this so called developmental program would be done in the community colleges....

So the staff, when I got there, they didn't know whether to trust me or not because they had heard the associate chancellor was there to phase out the program, and the director was there, so they didn't know where I stood with this. So for a long time in terms of attitude of staff towards me, my perception was that it was mixed: some felt that they could trust me, some felt that they couldn't. I proceeded to, and operated that I hoped that you could soon learn that you could trust me because I'm trying to be a person of integrity. I knew nothing about any attempt to get rid of the programs but I could concur that that's the way it appeared to me too....

I used to attend the associate deans meetings because I was an associate director and these were associate deans of all the colleges. I think they had about 7 or 8 colleges.... In the past the so-called minority students had been oriented by the program, even though they were all coming in through one of these colleges. So I insisted upon each college calling their group in with their other orientation and the opposition to that was just like, "No!" And they said, "You've always done it over there." I said, "We'll continue to have some orientations but I also want these students to know you're not just coming here to be part of [special services], you're also here through a college. You've been admitted through the college of education or engineering or business or music, and I want you to come in for that orientation to. That's when it really was made clear to me that there was a lack of commitment because I think it took a meeting with the chancellor to get that accomplished....

And some of the faculty, as I said, I think most faculty have never been sensitized, prepared to deal with minority students. I'm fairly convinced that there's always great opposition from faculty towards minority students because I think faculty still believe what Shockley said, and Griffin and others long before him. I just think that most White faculty probably feel that Blacks are innately inferior when it comes to ability to do certain kinds of quote-unquote academic things. I just think that a lot of White faculty, I think they see Black students and they just don't feel as though they're capable of doing work at the college level....

And you look around in the faculty department and you notice there's not a large number of minorities. It says to me that minority inclusion is not encouraged. Again I would generalize that across the country. There I would say I learned a lot and I always try to learn something from wherever I was. There I really learned - and it's generalized - I'm not sure that in America there's the commitment to educating minorities at the higher ed level in predominantly White schools. I would say that's one of the key things that I learned from that institution, is that the only reason why those programs are there now, if they're there, is because of the pressure that they may get from community or from students. I would say that if they are there now, that's the only reason why they are there now....

I saluted Black students around the country; I think they deserve credit for what they did with regard to seeing that higher education in America addresses itself to academic needs and social needs, et cetera, economic needs of minority students so instant Black studies and other offices of minority affairs, et cetera, were established and I think the majority of minorities on these campuses, they are there as a result of what happened in the latter part of the sixties. So I give credit to Black students for having done their job, and probably later in the interview I'll give discredit to the majority of minorities who are on these campuses today because I really personally don't think they're doing too much. There's a few wherever you go in any city or any system, but for the most part the professional minorities on predominantly White campuses have not picked up the ball to try to advance it....

One thing that happened was the director left. And as a result of my having been there for six years, a Black female was brought in to be director which I did not appreciate. So I might have been considered but I was not granted the opportunity. I'm not saying anything negative towards her personally, but I felt that I had been there as associate director for six years, I felt that I was in line and I felt I had the credentials and everything else that was sufficient, and sure politics came into play. There was no question in my mind that it was a political move for whatever reason, I don't know. It could have been that some of the higher ups, which might have been Black and White, they may not have really wanted a person that might really be

committed to trying to produce a quality program.... I requested an immediate transfer from that department to the college of health and physical education. I was supposed to be made an assistant dean in that college, and also I was the assistant athletic director for the advisement of student athletes. So I stayed in that position for a very short while and that's when I decided to return to the [area]....

[Current position at F. university] I contacted some friends of mine, [Black faculty and administrators at area colleges and universities]... and I was very candid and frank with them. I told them I was interested in returning to the [area] and I was in need of a position so they gave me some assistance in terms of helping to identify open positions, et cetera.... So I was appointed academic coordinator here about six years ago.... I'm the academic director in the department of athletics. My primary responsibility is to monitor the academic progress of the student athletes which are 350 plus. We have about 18 teams minimum. I'm not an academic advisor although part of my role involves advising students, but I work with the academic advisors in the various colleges.... Also meet with various faculty people pertaining to concerns or problems of student athletes and I will inform faculty when athletes are going to be absent. I do reports on the various teams and keep the athletic director and coaches informed about the academic progress of students....

I felt as though the athletic director sought me for a person in such a position, and he knew about my credentials so we were able to establish a professional relationship. So as far as I'm concerned we've been able to work together very well.... So my relationship with the director has been very good. With the associate director, I would say this person is a White older female, and from what I hear I think she had another person in mind for this position which means to me that I didn't expect too much, I didn't expect a favorable attitude. My attitude towards her is to try to be as professional as possible and that's what I expect from her. So as long as we were able to have mutual professional respect for one another, my view is fine, it doesn't matter to me who she wanted in the position. But I didn't find her to be helpful. I had to constantly complain to the director that I didn't feel as though the person respected me as a person, as a minority person, and as a qualified professional minority person. And I made it very clear that it appeared to me as though the person had not had very much experience in working with a professional qualified minority. In other words, the mutual respect was not there. So I had to deal with that accordingly. When I say that I mean that, and I think if a person does not deal with that head on and accordingly, I think they

will be lied on in terms of maybe how reports are done, or they will be lied on about whatever it might be. So I just took the bull by the horn and dealt with her head on and I made it very clear to her in writing, and a copy to the director, that I was there and I was qualified and I come through the regular channels. In other words, there had been a national search and I was a finalist and I won the position. And I expected hopefully to receive cooperation in terms of my trying to do my duties and responsibilities. And if I didn't get that, I made it very clear I would not hesitate to go to the director or vice chancellor or chancellor or board of trustees.... And it was almost as if I was not to have a view, I was not to be a professional member of the staff, and I just didn't find it personally any fun because I felt as though it interfered with my work and the work of the department in terms of trying to work together to help meet the academic needs of the students. For as long as I'm here, I would say right now she treats me fine. But I'm saying the kind of hell I went through with her, I feel as though that was unnecessary....

[For example] Well to begin with, our terminal is not working properly, and I made it clear to the director that there's a problem that we need to get checked out. And I didn't want to bother until it was checked out because I didn't want to be accused of breaking it or something. So this person says, "Oh, you probably can't even run it. You probably don't know how to handle it." So my view was, k "I beg your pardon," like, "What?" So what I did, I just kept my cool but until it was repaired - it might have taken two weeks or a month - but until it was repaired it was almost like, "I doubt if he knows how to operate it anyway." And then I found out she didn't know how to operate it. And later I was able to operate it. Again, I put that in writing to the director that I did not appreciate that kind of what I call harassment: trying to find fault with something and it was not based upon fact. I pub, maybe I should have ignored that but I didn't because I was not about to ignore any nonsense like that. I don't feel as though when minorities come into positions like what I'm in or what you, I don't think we have to take the kind of bull and garbage and nonsense that maybe some of the Jackie Robinson's in this area took. And I realize too that even in this day and age, 1989, getting ready to go into the 21st century in America in higher education, we're still part of the Jackie Robinson's in higher education. And I just feel as though if we are indeed qualified, I think we should speak up and let people know that it's time for them to change, for the office attitudes of other professionals to change. I don't think we should come in trying to bend and bob and weave just to get the image out that we are good

minorities or whatever. I think we can come in, expect professional treatment....

There's some forms you fill out for sports medicine person. If you're okay, the sports medicine person will say to her in writing that Carlton meets everything that's required medically so he's okay to try out for the team. Academically, I should have the right also to say that Carlton meets all the requirements academically so he can go out for the team. But what she wanted to do was have a copy of all of my work in her office and I was opposed to that. She didn't have copies of all the medical material on you from the sports medicine person. And I felt as though, why couldn't she take my word. If I say you're matriculated, you're a full-time student, you're in good academic standing, that academically there are no problems. I was opposed to her wanting copies of my material in her office.....

[Response of the director] In my view, since the person had been here, and I think probably they had worked together for 3 to 5 years prior to my coming, I would have to say I couldn't understand why something was not done, because I felt as though if that had been in reverse I would have been called in on the carpet. I don't know what he said to her, but I never saw any change in her behavior towards me. But I did put things in writing because often he would say, "Well put it in writing."... Well I never had that assurance from the director that something would be done about it - and this was a Black director - I never had the assurance that something would definitely be done about her, what I call harassing and intimidation of me....

[Re: support for upward mobility from the director] The associate chancellor, or vice chancellor for student affairs, the person our director reports to, had informed me that he had discussed with the director my receiving a promotion in terms of a change in title. Naturally that would mean probably some money. I heard this about three years ago.... We had discussed it, the director and I had discussed it a couple of years ago or so. Since I didn't see anything happening I reached the point where I didn't want to discuss it anymore. To me, actions speak louder than words. Why should we, after the end of the year if a good report comes in, if I submit a good report, the students are doing well, I'm doing well with communicating with others and all that type of thing, and I think I have done a fairly good job because it's not easy here being a Black administrator at this university. It's a very racist university, and having worked with the deans, having worked with faculty, and some of the other professionals, I think that you deserve a lot of credit right now. I have a very good rapport with most people in these positions on this campus and I feel as though I merited that. I don't want them to give me something that I have not

earned or worked for. And then too, being a minority, there's so few minorities and are directors or assistant directors or associate directors, I feel as though I should not have to ask, but I will probably this year. I'll write it up and say hey, we've discussed this, I'd like to experience it, and if it's not warranted, let's discuss it....

[Another incident] I would say as a Black professional that's sort of elderly like looking, it's hard to mistake me for a student. So you walk into an office and a secretary, a receptionist will say, "What do you want?" Is there anything like, 'May I help you please?'" And then I let them know that I am part of the staff here. Not that I want to put students down, but I'm not a student. And so, give me a little respect or something. They not only behave that way towards minorities, but I'm saying that in most offices you walk in, I think you'd detect immediately a lack of sensitivity to minorities. I would say if you talk with faculty on the telephone, right away, when you speak down, it's almost like they know more than what I know about our student athletes....

Lately there are a few more deans here. There are in half the colleges now - we have about six colleges - there are about three minority deans now, but that just came about last year. To this point it was not always obvious that Blacks get the opportunity to be in a department at the university. There were very few deans, very few associate deans. The only department chair, Black or minority, was Black studies... I don't think, personally, that predominantly White universities and colleges have appropriately and systematically and deliberately, consciously planned to make certain that there is genuine inclusion of minorities in the universities, even though they may be state supported institutions... They're supported by tax-payers money so I feel that even though it's a racist institution - the majority of White institutions are racist - I feel as though I have a right to be here if I want to be. And I know it's not going to be easy, so I'm one who's game. I'm personally prepared to deal with it...

And I would say that due to my own determination, desire to do well in my position wherever I'm at, I think having done well, and I think minorities for the most part Blacks, we have to do well. We have to be super. We're still the Jackie Robinson's, so we have records, we have to beat them in the 100 yard dash... We have to do mega, mega kind of things.... Super Black; we have to prove we're super Black. I still think for the most part in any kind of administrative position we have to be super dynamic. We have to be the superstar, or I don't think we'll be there. If we're not there, we're just the oreo or the token; we just don't care. So I

think sure, you can get a position and just float, but I think then, are you addressing the concerns of minorities, are you bringing out any issues that should be discussed at the university or are you just sitting there drawing a check and going home? And I'm saying I don't think minorities today should be in higher education just sitting there drawing a check, and I think there's a way to speak up, and I think that wherever they are and at whatever institution, I think they should be addressing the issues and concerns of minorities at that university....

The person that I've been able to speak with ever since I've been here is the vice chancellor for student affairs. And that's the person that my director reports to, and he's a Black gentleman. So I have been able to personally have confidential conversations with him about my situation here at the university. And I've found him to be very receptive and helpful. But I would say you're right and accurate when you say I've not, for one reason or another, I've had discussions with my director about certain things but I've not expected too much in turn in terms of correcting the matter or whatever...

I would say [there is' not a [support] group, but I have found a few individuals. There are about two or three Blacks on this campus that feel that I can really go to and share and then we might decide an appropriate strategy, and then they might come and share the same with me.... There's probably a couple of faculty and a couple of professional staff that I personally feel comfortable with going to to share the kinds of concerns that I'm going through. And I'm sure they've shared some things with me. But the so-called minority caucus or minority organizations, I've not found them to be too helpful. I've found those groups to be sort of like puppets of the administration, not really taking care of any business related to concerns of minority students, or faculty, staff, just a group that's together and come in from time to time, air about the racist campus or whatever, but never to take any paper to any dean, or submit names of people for certain positions, or to demand that students be granted this or whatever. I just see the minority group here. I see [city] as a plantation so I think that there are some very nice colored people here. I don't think there's going to be too much rocking of the boat on the plantation....

[Re: area college community] I would say that for me, that's what's been most helpful are the individuals that are here, not an organization. Because there are various inter-university organizations that are primarily concerned with minority concerns and all that type of thing. But I personally get more assistance, I rely more on individuals, minorities, in this area than I do upon organizations....

I would say there is no united force here on this campus and that's sad. It's really sad because I think that when you go in, you do need some assistance. I don't care how qualified you are I don't care how many degrees you have, and all that kind of stuff. Until you give 5, 10 years of experience you need some assistance. Some people have been in capacities for years and they know how to handle certain things themselves, they got a lot of support....

[Making meaning] I don't see any systematic, deliberately planned program - if you want to call it that - that's preparing minorities for professional positions in higher ed. I don't see, as you said, I don't see minorities in these institutions taking care of business. I see too much shuckin' and jivin', lolly-gagging, and all this type of thing, and the reason why I say that is the universities did nothing until the latter part of the sixties, early seventies, that's when minority students took over, you know, unrest and everything, and demanded that universities address concerns, issues of minority students.... So I'm just saying why can't we, the minorities especially, faculty, staff, the professionals here at the university, why can't we now address seriously, systematically plan and strategize and take care of business as related to low enrollment of minority students, low percentage of minority administrators or minority faculty, whatever. I'm saying around the country we are playing professional games. Sure we have our little caucuses and our various meetings, we belong to professional organizations so we have our little Black caucus, but I don't see any, on the small scale basis and I don't see it on the national basis, minorities in higher ed taking care of business: deliberately planning to take care of some business no matter what the consequences might be.... Now sure, on any campus there's probably a few brothers and sisters that really have it together, and I salute those brothers and sisters so I don't mean to be critical of all, but I'm saying the majority....

And I think it's time for, I think for the next ten years, going into the 21st century, I think there ought to be some coming out of Washington or someplace a deliberate plan for inclusion of more minorities in these predominantly White schools because we have a right to be here.... So what I'm saying is that it's our responsibility, Blacks, and other racial minorities in this country, to keep our agenda high on the totem pole. I think that we have to constantly confront people with it, like it or not. They'll not like us always bringing up our concerns about racism or whatever but I'm saying until it's resolved, until it's eradicated or whatever, just like our pigmentation, our very presence is a disturbance, not to even talk about being an administrator or faculty, just the very presence of

Black folks in America probably is upsetting to some people. So I'm saying there's no better time for us than now to keep on marching until freedom is won....

And what I mean by that is get our qualifications and keep on knocking at doors until if necessary, just kick the doors down. I've been here into my sixth year - and I didn't necessarily come here to teach but I know I'm qualified to teach - and they have no Black teachers in the college of education here. I'll be teaching next year. But it's taken three years for them to finally say, "Hey, we don't have any qualified minorities to teach." so I'll be teaching a course. And I believe that my credentials show that I've been an effective teacher. The reason why I continue to be interested in teaching here is because, If not me, somebody. In other words, I felt personally an obligation to keep on knocking at the door, to kick the door down, and so if they didn't want to have me up there, at least someone, some minority hopefully they would get on the staff. I'm going to be up there and I hope that prior to my leaving here that I be instrumental in terms of maybe being helpful in bringing a few more faculty up there not only in the college of education but maybe a few more faculty on campus....

Again - and I've been in the field now 30 years - I'm just saying based on my own experience, I just don't see the future as rosy at all for inclusion of minorities in higher ed. I don't see universities trying to increase enrollment of students or trying to recruit and hire more minority professionals or faculty or administrators. I'm an optimist but when it comes to higher education, doing something for and with minorities, I just don't see it.... I really regret that I've had to experience some of the things that I experienced in America, being in a so-called democratic country and I'm being a citizen here. I'm very happy that the Lord made it possible for me to, wherever I felt necessary, to speak up. I have no regrets about speaking up to the White woman who's the associate director in the athletic department here. I'm very happy from day one, I made it clear to her, "Not with me. None of that bullshit with me and I mean it. And I respect you but on the other hand I'm going to act accordingly. And I understand you are a female, but if you're going to try to treat me like I'm an asshole, then I'm going to try my best to deal with you in whatever way I deem necessary."....And I feel as though as long as you're standing up for what you consider to be right I mean stand for it if it means your job. And what I think is so pathetic is when you see all these colored folks on these campuses trying to tell you and me to: "Take it easy man. We've come a long way, and it'

s going to take time. It's going to take time." My view is no, because I don't think that that my son and your son should have to knock on the doors that we should have kicked down....

So I don't see it fair to me and I don't see it fair to my kids. And I really don't like it. Some people say, "Don't you think it makes you a better person?" Hell no. I could have done without some of the harassment I received on campus. I could have done well in school if I had a scholarship here or there. And I'm sad as hell that my sons and daughters and my grandchildren were born and they're going to have to face as I said I don't see anything changing in the next 50 years....

I try to stand for what I think is right, k and I'm happy about that. I'm not saying I always won. But when they looked for a provost here when I first came, I didn't go through any minority organization. I said, "I would like to see a significant number of minorities as finalists. I don't care about who, I don't care about how many you have, but you can end up with 5, 6, 7 finalists. I would like to see at least half of those people as minority." They sent me a letter, "Send us some names." I did. I submitted three names and one of the persons actually received an offer to be provost here. I'm just saying that's what I did on my own. If I had went to the minority organization here on this campus, they would have told me the campus was not ready yet, like they told Jesse [Jackson]....

I guess at one time I had some aspirations to be maybe dean or chairperson or something like that but anymore to me it doesn't really matter. I don't see it as a possibility. I guess I see it as a possibility if I were to go to a predominantly Black school. I guess I could be the president of a university or a dean. But I think there's a challenge there even for Blacks there. I just sense that my time is almost up, especially employment wise. I have a few more years. I would say my aspirations now for me are not as high as they might have been at one time. I would say 20, 25 years ago my aspirations were very high in terms of assistant deanship, deanship, maybe university president and all that.

[Re: mentoring relationships] That's very good. And I really appreciate that. Because I would say now that's where I do try to make a significant contribution. I would say in terms of aspiration that if a young aspiring minority were to come to me and say, "Would you give me some assistance in a Masters or Doctorate program? Can you help me get into a doctoral program? Can you help me with a paper, whatever?" I would say that's what really turns me on right now to some extent. I'm more than willing to try to give some assistance to a young aspiring administrator who I hope

will one day be able to fulfill their personal aspirations as related to higher education, whatever it might be.... When a person approaches me or whatever, I will try my best to be of whatever assistance I can be to them because I feel as though they have 20, 30 more years and feel if they can go on and kick a few doors, knock a few doors down, then I think it's going to get better for us in the future and there's a hope....

I see no reason why there shouldn't be some type of institute in this area, at this school to prepare minorities for positions in education. Finding the funds and et cetera will probably be the thing needed as far as that goes. I don't think there has to be one national institute but I do see the need because we don't see it in higher ed, we don't see it in the regular established institutions, we don't see them showing a concern and we read very little about their institutes where they are specifically preparing minorities for faculty....

C: But still a person can establish [their] own philosophies and principles and not understand that they are Black.

A: That's true. It's deeper than being Black. I think it's being human and then part society saying, "hey, you want to share in society.".... Maybe there is a lack of identity on the part of some Blacks. Maybe that's something worth looking into. Maybe that's crucial to being a strong administrator as a Black person. It's probably crucial - I sort of took that for granted, I was thinking that was understood. Otherwise I just don't think you would be concerned with anything related to race relations. I think a person's approach would be that they just don't see too much wrong in society and they feel the opportunities are already there, it's just a matter of a person taking advantage of them and all this type of thing. I would say that's where a lot of these step-n-fetch-its and Rochester come in to play because they don't have that clear understanding of their lineage and heritage, things like that. They don't have a good concept of their own selves, their Blackness and all that type of thing. And they probably need to deal with that. There's no question of that. I would say that's probably true. I think if you were to do a survey of most Black people in higher education in America they would probably say that they were there as a result of their own work and drive; I doubt very much that they would say that we're here as a result of what happened in the sixties in terms of what the students did, and we're here probably not because we're so qualified, but because of tokenism and things like that. And we should do whatever we can to try to move the university forward related to race relations. That's what I would guess if you were to do a survey. And I think that's one of the problems. I

think that we aren't all at the same place when it comes to knowing who we are, from which it comes and et cetera....

APPENDIX J

PROFILE 10: N.

Director of Residential Life at a public college, and 13 years at predominantly White institutions of higher education. Highest degree earned: master's.

Interview:

N: [As residence director at A. university] ...And the best thing about my four years at [name] dormitory is three things: One, it was predominantly [White], I think there was only one Black guy in there for two years, and they were predominantly from [White neighborhood]. That was very challenging because there were people there who didn't like me right off the bat. And I kept getting these stupid notes under my door saying, "Why don't you get your shit together. You're never here, blah, blah, this and that." And I was strolling up and down the hallway one evening and I heard them talking about 'nigger this', and 'Black such and such'. I was like, "Whoa." "He didn't fix my shit. He's an asshole, blah, blah, blah." Dorm meeting, signs all over the place, we're having a meeting.... I said, "These notes suck." And so I read them off. I said, "Now, I got these notes over here and I got these notes over here." And I read this one here: "You slimy little such-and-such, why don't you get up and check the second floor and fix the doorknobs on there 'cause they're broken." And I just took it, crumbled it up, and then, "Boom," in the trash can. "You stupid idiot, you'll never learn this job, you're never here. Why don't you just ..." I crumbled it up, threw it in the trash can. I said, "Now, over here, this is a nice note: 'Dear Bob, my shade is broken. I'm in room 212. Would you please see that it gets fixed?' Dave, how's your shade? 'It's fixed.' When did it get fixed? 'About an hour after I dropped the note off.'" I said, "Thank you very much." And I read another one. I said, "Who's that?" Such and such. I said, "Is yours fixed?" "Yup." "That's how it works." And I said, "I understand all you guys are from [White neighborhood] and all that stuff, and I don't even care. But just treat me fairly and I will treat you fairly. I'm in charge. I'm the head of residence." And so I had a little agenda. I said, "The second thing is, I need people to volunteer for student government. If any of you are interested, be over in that room over there right after this meeting." I said, "Number three, does anybody in here play basketball because there's a three on three tournament and the deadline is tomorrow, and I need two people, and I'd rather represent the dorm." And I said, "If not, the guys over here want me on their team. So if you guys have anybody who's any good - " Then this guy C. stood up and then J. "Yup, okay fine." And we won the

tournament.... Had a little party in the dorm afterwards. That brought closure

[Having been promoted to a larger building] So I took over that and my organizational skills had to kick in a little bit. Now I'm in charge of 600 students, not just 143. And I got 22 RA's, not just 4. But everything is relative. It's overwhelming if you just step back and look at it, but not really when you're in there and everybody's doing their job, it's pretty easy. And I had two graduate assistants who were just eager beavers; I didn't really have to do anything. I didn't have the free time I used to have....

When I say that place ran itself, each person had a responsibility, and when it got out of hand I would get involved. And that's where I learned delegation and delegating to responsible people, and not doing everything myself.... By then I was offered another spot - and this was maybe a year later - to be in charge of a total of about 1600 students, three buildings, more money. I had 34 RA's in three separate buildings. Every other week we met as one.... But again I took initiative; I changed things around. I made that cluster work and do things together.... That was a good experience. I was there for two years. And that's where I first got challenged where I was confronted by my supervisor by the fact that I'm doing so many things outside of res life that my job at A. [university] was, he felt was secondary and everything else I was doing was number one. He was kind of right but not totally. Because if you organize stuff to work properly you don't have to be sitting there watching it run; it's gonna go. And I assumed responsibility....

There were a couple of incidents that were happening. Three things were happening - this was at the end of my career at A. Number one I think that as Black professionals who are resident directors, we began getting together and looking at some of the inequities within the system: the promotions, the money, the opportunities for professional development, travel, assignments, and also looking at our retention. At that point - and there were a lot of Black RD's and Black heads of residence on campus for a period of about four or five years - as we became more professionally aware and going to conferences, people began to leave. People began to go other places. We were well trained at A. We were good, we were working at a large system, and it really prepared us to do a lot of creative things at other schools. And people wanted that. Not all the Black RD's took advantage of that. But when we started looking at some of those issues that were out there on campus and then started saying some things about it ... and we started bringing those to our supervisors, higher ups who were at different levels, we were not getting the support that we wanted, and we thought we were asking for really fair things. A couple of job opportunities came up; folks weren't getting them. Merit came around: "How does this

guy over here, or how does that woman over there, get 1500 bucks? I'm teaching the social issues course. I presented in both of the RA training courses, and working with the alcohol training committee. I'm in charge of three buildings... I'm doing all this. And this person has one building, he presented once in a RA training course, and that's it! 1500. What do I get, 500. How do you measure that?" "Well this is over a long period ... I don't even want to get into that." But I began to challenge some of those inequities; I thought they were unfair, clearly unfair. And a lot of other people started feeling the same way. Then Black resident directors started leaving....

I got my [masters] degree. I was doing some creative things in res life. I was creating new educational programs in the residence halls. I was bitching too but I still kept doing stuff. And then a guy left as an area coordinator; that's a big position. And I had applied for that position the year before and didn't get it.... He didn't think I was ready for it. I went up and kind of said - it was a brother - "Yo, it's another brother." I was kind of like this - not in the interview - but kind of like saying, you know I can be a support.... I wasn't very professional about that interview, and I don't think I had a full concept of what that position requires, but I didn't get it. I was bitter for about a day and then I just said, "No problem." Then the position came up again and it was suggested that I apply for that position, not from the person who's my immediate supervisor, but someone in that position higher on another side. Because I think that they knew the big person wanted me in that position. And I think by my getting that position solved several things, but also because of my seniority, and also because of my ability to do the job, and also my ability to have the respect of the folks in [that section of campus] and all the professional staff. It worked out well....

I'll tell you about that position [area coordinator] that I had for one year. Three significant things happened. Number one, I found out I was able to supervise people that were my peers, who had as much or more experience than I did, and they were very supportive of me. I found that I could not walk the fence administratively; I had to make decisions one way or the other. And I found that I had a good ability to convince people to see my side of things. And I also developed my listening skills. That's the professional aspect....

I think that I impacted on retention of Black resident directors. I said that we need to retain more Black staff; that was like my issue, that was my baby. That was something I talked about regularly in the meeting. And I said the best way to retain people is by paying them more dollars, and we're losing them to other schools who are paying them more. And I voiced that. And I can't say exactly that 5 people more stayed because I pushed for retention as an issue and pushed for more dollars. I also

asserted trying to get more Black RA's involved. I personally went out and recruited more Black staff because I found that ... when I had my first Black RA, it was like I was able to help nurture him and he was very very supportive of me....

And so I tried to encourage more, the Black RA's, Black students to participate in being an RA because it's a good opportunity.... Because I think folks who were going to be oppressed by those activities, if they're in leadership positions, they're going to speak out against them.... Also, I think by the fact that I was sitting in on the executive meetings, a lot of this stuff that was going on there, and a lot of the discussion that was going on in those meetings, I was there now. I was there with another Black professional female. And so the discussion always focused on equity. It surprised me in one way: did it happen because I was there or was it always happening and now I'm here to sit in on it? Were policies, rule changes, etc. being made because now I'm sitting in on it? I know what's going on here. Is that like a check or balance against equity, because I'm here. I honestly think that it was happening anyway because of the leadership there and the opportunities that I got, that anyone else could have gotten. You can look at it in two ways. Number one, I got a shot and they gave me a break, or I deserved it....

The position was available here for Director of Housing at B. [college]. I had thought about leaving A. [university], but not seriously. I came armed [to conferences] with resumes but I really wasn't interviewing, I was just hanging out.... I really didn't want to sit down and interview. But I interviewed at two places.... Then the only other people who responded was B. [college] They sent me a note saying we'll contact you later, we're not interviewing here at the conference. So I was like, good, I got a little nibble, that's fine.... I got to [back to A.] and they [B.] called me up to come in for an interview.... The dean of students was saying, "Yes, we really want you to come here. Your credentials are great and it's a small campus." And he told me what they were going to pay me and it was more than what I was making.

So I went. And I had the first interview. This was the first one I really tried hard at.... This one I was more professional. I could see that there were things that were automatic, those questions they were asking were cake.... Because they trained you so hard at A. This was a developing program here. I was coming here for systems program development, stuff that was already there at A. So I knew that I had knowledge that other people did not have which made me feel very very good....

The vice-president of student affairs made me feel very welcome, made me feel that I had knowledge and abilities that other people don't know about. A lot of people here have been here for 25 years and they like to keep things as is, don't make waves. You go and pull out the files, just

pull out the Xerox or videotape; everything that was here 15, 20 years ago still here, just keep doing it, little modifications here and there. Don't come in here and change stuff. But he wanted some changes, especially in the housing area of student development. So he made me feel welcome, like he needed me. The president made me feel important....

Well the first thing you have to do is inform the people at A. that you're leaving. I did that in writing. That was at ten o'clock in the morning. I went to the last staff meeting because I knew they were going to give me presents or give me some food, or something, send me on my way. That very afternoon I found out they changed the salary. They changed it almost as I took one job, it just got changed. And I was very disappointed with that. I left on a sour note. It was a personal sour note. But now I saw how things worked. I was really unhappy because I would rather have stayed and earned that than go someplace else. And it's not about the money, but it's a factor. But here, I looked and I weighed, I was going to have professionally more responsibility. I was going to have my own budget. I was going to grow, I was going to be the head person in charge....

I went to work immediately. When I came in here, the person who ran it was a nervous wreck. That got me a little worried. He was shaking and smoking cigarettes. When I walked into the office on the first day my assistant was selected for me. Someone else had selected my assistant. The secretary who was here was in a car accident. We had a temporary person. So I went through a little orientation. That was a significant thing. I didn't think about that [someone else selecting my assistant] until maybe two years later, that that was significant. When it happened that was fine with me, I figured that's the way they do it, that's fine. Because I had not been on the level where I would think about the fact that someone was selected as my assistant. Come to find out later that that person was also applying for my job and didn't get it and then was offered the assistant position. So there was some animosity. But not really, they didn't surface until after the person left, I didn't find out about it....

I guess in the past the other person let that person run whatever, and I wanted control. So I exercised it right off the bat, and that left me and P. [assistant] - we didn't even know how to pay people. We didn't know how to write up a purchase order or nothing. And everything is all over the place, and everything smelled like smoke, and it was crazy. So the very next day we went out and got a temp. I told my supervisor what happened. He said, "Hey, this is your world. You go ahead and just do whatever you have to do to make that place work. That's why we hired you." So I went out and hired me a temp who was fabulous. And we just redid everything....

I learned in my first couple of years, I was too anxious, I was too ready to just go and do, and not really think things through. That was where most of my growth and I learned from the vice-president that you have to see the whole picture, not just your immediate feelings about how to react to situations. This is not A. [university]. It's not a big bureaucracy where you just got to have someone else to fill that space. It becomes a business, and so I had to make some choices. So I was a quick developer in understanding the responsibilities, and I gradually grasped the leadership, and gradually grasped understanding the interworkings of a small school versus a big school. It was hard because everybody wanted to do everything the same way, and I came in with my only way of knowing how to do it, and it became very very difficult....

I went to church for religious reasons of course, but also for social reasons, to see who's out there, [i.e.] Black people. I wanted to see some brothers and sisters. I wanted to see some Black people, and I wanted to see who was in [city]. I wanted to see how many of my friends from when I graduated from college, who was around. I went to the local clubs and bars where Black people hung out. I went to ... the Spanish Club, saw some friends there. And so it was just like getting around to see who was out there. I had a place to live up in [town] ... a little dinky town up there four miles from the city. I'd go into the city and party, have fun, socialize, and then I'd go up there and be quiet. Still close enough to the school in case of emergency. I did not find all the kind of folks that I was looking for. And I don't know what kind I was looking for but the people that I was normally hanging out with, buddies, I didn't see a whole bunch of folks here. And so I felt a little isolated in [city]....

I felt isolated, of course, on the campus because there are only two brothers, myself and S. are here, and I immediately developed a good friendship, a relationship with him. Then there's some faculty who were bro's but I didn't know them too well. I got to know who they were. In terms of hanging out and going and playing ball, going to have a beer, something like that, no, I didn't develop a friendship with them. With S. I immediately developed a friendship, and with M., a Black Hispanic woman. On a social scene there was really no one who I developed a good association with like I did at A. Again I felt isolated....

[Re: working several jobs plus other obligations] And so I felt an obligation to do more for the community, since I was working in there. Someone asked me to be on the board of directors for the V. Health Center.... "Okay, I'll do it." It's a way to do something. And I really got into it. It was a nice group of people, we met monthly, and I'm also learning stuff. I'm learning stuff about the budget and how it's done. I'm learning about the legislature. Learning about health and safety issues.... I liked it. I'm still on that board. I did some kind of presentation somewhere to

some students, and a woman recommended I come to this meeting. I go and it's the [office for children]. "Great, [office for children], what can I do?" "You can be on the steering committee, the board of directors for this too..."

Here [at B.], there's a woman who calls up every week and says, "Were you in everyday?" They were checking me.

CP: They do that for everybody, not just you in particular?

N: Yes, but I felt it was for me for a long time.

CP: So you personalized it.

N: I definitely did. I said, the first time the person called, "Are you trying to suggest that I wasn't here last week?" "No." I asked her, "Well do you check with everybody?" But I would always want to sand bag that because I would always want to have free time to just go and do what I want to....

Here's the beef about this place here. It's a great college - I mean overall - and good leadership. But there's a lot of people who work here who have this thing called 'animosity for other people'. And that made life very very difficult for me. For example, my boss would always, "Hi, what are you doing? Why don't you come on down and talk?" He said, "I've been hearing that other people are concerned that you don't spend enough time here on campus." I said, "What, 9 to 5 is not enough? Or, I should spend more time within visible eyesight of people?" "No, I think it has to do with your reffing. You're going off and you're reffing. You're leaving at 2:30 in the afternoon." I said, "Well I take a quarter vacation day. You told me I could do that. I asked with personnel..." "And someone heard that they saw you up at S. doing a freshman boys and girls game around 3 o'clock in the afternoon. Is that correct?" I said, "Yes." "Did you take a vacation day." I said, "Yes." "N., whenever you do that it's very important that you take your vacation time because now I can go and tell these people." I said, "Who are these people?" "Oh it's not important." So that's happened two or three times.... I never really spoke back to my supervisor, who was White, and I like very much. We have a lot in common sports wise. But I said, "Let me tell you something. If you cannot tell me who said this, then you should not say it to me," because it's almost a mechanism by which he can control me. By me getting all worried and trying to do better, do good, because I should be worried that someone is peeping me out. I didn't like that. I said, "From now on, you got to tell me who, and then the three of us will sit down and discuss it. The thing is, the bottom line is it doesn't matter who it is because I'm doing the job." That's my only conflict with my supervisor is that he lets what other people say, that pushes his button to come and confront me. But he doesn't confront me; he informs me in a very professional way. So there's no reason for me to be upset with him. And we see most things eye-to-eye. Rarely has he ever been in the position where he's had to tell me to do something because I

can't understand. And I find that unique situation for a Black administrator with a White supervisor. It's very easy to dislike that person for many reasons: policy, personality, professional, the age, whatever, race. But I found that we have a lot of good things in common....

Let me just tell you one other thing that I've found difficult around here is that, interpersonally I don't socialize with anyone on this campus, anyone. I do things with people that are related to the college. If we have to go and we're advisors for this group and we have to go to an activity. Or I have to go represent this group by going here or there. There's one person who I've gone out and had a drink with, or I go and have lunch with [other Black administrators], and I go out and have a beer with one of the security guys. That's it....

I found I probably socialize with the people in my particular office more. When I say the campus here, I'm not talking about my office. We do things here. We have Christmas, exchanging gifts, and they buy good gifts. We go over to my secretary, she has a pool; we go over to her house three times a year: swimming, cookouts, and staff training, culmination of staff training is over at her house. The janitor ... she makes the most serious lasagna in the world; we go over there twice a year. We do stuff here in this office....

So I share with them openly because I trust them. And I think that was one of the ways to build some trust was to give them some dirt on me. I think in reality I think that there's stuff that I hold onto that I won't open up and disclose. But it's not really a lot that they don't know.... I think that your secretary, the person that works with you and for you is someone that can make or break you. And I think we both realize, I think she realizes that I was going to be here for a while, and I realized that I'm going to have to open up and trust this person....

I'm the advisor for the [Third World organization]. I get the most pleasure out of that. That's a student group. When I got here it wasn't active, and I asked S. [Black administrator] who had been very busy in the [support services], and the Upward Bound and the Broader Horizons, what happened to that group. "Students have lost interest, there's lack of participation, and they don't have an advisor." I said, "I want that group to be here. I want to be a part of that group. And I want to be an advisor." So M., S., [Black administrators] and I were the advisors and M. and I were really the active advisors and S. gave us leadership. Just to watch that organization develop, mature and grow from nothing to what it is today, that's what I'm probably - besides housing - most proud of.... Like Black History Month has never been done here at this school. And we had 18 Black History Month activities: films, and speakers, and pictures, and bulletin board, reference board, etc., parties, functions, buffets. So we really did it up. So the group was half Black and half Hispanic, so hey, we'll

worry about Hispanic Month. So, "We only get a week?" But there is Hispanic Week and we did a whole week and we went off. And everyone started to watch how things can happen. And they became significant in the student center where they have all those groups. And what culminated it, we started doing more things that would get other students, White, and other students involved: bake sales and stuff like that....

Let me first go back and talk about: Do I think a White administrator would feel the same thing I feel. I say no. Because I've had to try to gain acceptance on several levels on campus by proving myself. I have to show clearly why we do something in order for us to do it. When I make suggestions in the staff meetings, people kind of chuckle sometimes... in the directors meetings. But I say things in a funny way sometimes, but I'm absolutely dead serious about how to handle the situation.... I mean there are things that I say and do, I have to really work hard to have people see that what I'm doing or what I'm saying is the right thing, except for my supervisor. He sees what I'm doing; he understands where I'm coming from, I think....

I think that overall, I think how I am viewed by other people on campus is: pleasant, funny, professional, doesn't tolerate any bullshit from students. And one of the things that has given me a lot of credibility in the president's office and around campus is that since I've been here, the neighbors have not had to come around this campus once.... I think where I failed in my job as a director of housing is to recruit more and get young Black, Hispanic and Asian students interested in residence life. I don't think I've really attained that kind of - when I think about that I don't feel good about that, and I don't know why that is, but it doesn't happen. I'm always mentioning it to students but I think I need to do more to actively recruit them for the selection process and get them interested. I think one of the reasons a lot of the, our types of students are turned off is because of the drinking that goes on here, and many students are just very rude, and consume alcohol, and they don't want to be babysitting....

One of the other persons who I don't think I see eye-to-eye with is the dean of students. He's not my supervisor but he's above the director maybe. And he and I work very closely together because we're both softball umpires and he turned me on to it. And if he was not a dean and I was not a director we would probably be good buddies. We are good buddies now. There are times when we have definite philosophical differences about how to deal with students, based on things that they do. And we really roll up our sleeves and really voice our different opinions, but in the end we can always unroll our sleeves and then shoot the shit again. There have been times when I have been avid; I've hurled the phone, "I refuse!" And then we calm down and just go. And it's mostly on sanctions that you give to students for what they do....

I think in closing, on B.[college], it's had its highs and lows. I think that if it wasn't an overall positive experience I wouldn't be here this long. I wouldn't tolerate the isolation. The worst thing that really happens on a regular basis is that people's issues merely make a little bit more work for me. If I need something to get done, or if I need something from this person here, "Well you got to call such-and-such to make sure that's what they want me to do." There's a lot of people here who go exactly by their job description. I always exceed and go way beyond my job description. Those people just go right to it, and then they go by the union laws. I always want to go beyond stuff because I just want to get it done....

I have every appointment book I ever had here. I use it for two reasons: number one, so when I ask for merit, I could justify it in terms of total hours, activities done, but also, if anyone suggests that I am not 115%, or that I'm sloughing off somehow, I can pull out evidence that I have done it. Now I was confronted by J. on the reffing. I said, "I'll be right back." I take out my book - I didn't say this to him like this - but I said, "If you want to go tit for tat about time, you owe me 187 hours. You owe me 187 hours." "How did you come up with that figure N.?" "I don't do duty. I take duty every Wednesday night. I take duty Wednesday nights and Sunday nights, and that's not even including the 187 hours. You take every Wednesday that I can't go to a bar and get sloshed, whatever - I don't do that - but for every Wednesday that I don't leave town, for every Wednesday that I don't want to just go off to [town] and visit, whatever, I have to stay here because I'm on duty. Well that's not part of my responsibility. I have overall responsibility, it doesn't mean I have to stay in town. But I stay in town every Wednesday and Sunday, and I don't get paid for that. Now to the 187. Do I have to stay here 'til 12 o'clock and come in and meet with RA's? Do I have to go and spend one hour with every RA and their first house meeting to ensure that people hear the rules from my mouth, and let them know that I'm here for them as a director? How many directors do that? Not many. Are you going to pay me for the Saturday nights that I sneak up on the back part of campus and walk through and catch people doing stuff to make them watch out for N., 'cause N.'s around Saturday night. On opening day, Saturday, do I ask for any extra compensation for coming in on Saturday?" I just ran it. And so, "Oh, N.'s refereeing a basketball game at 2:30 in the afternoon on Wednesday, in the middle of January." "Excuse me?" What came from that was like, "Wow, by doing what I do it seems that somehow you need to justify that and seems like you don't trust that people will trust you. By you having to document it seems that somehow you're protecting yourself, you're being defensive."

CP: Your supervisor said that.

N: Yeah. I said, "Oh no. I use this merely for the purpose that I can document stuff when I go for merit. But

now I found another use for it because I'm being confronted by how much time I put in, and I just want to show you how much I put in." So he said, "You don't need to do that with me." I don't need to do that with him. I trust him. But I needed to do it at A. [university] and it's just a habit, it just carried over to here. And I found that it was useful. I haven't been confronted about time anymore. That stood out....

My immediate supervisor has not challenged my autonomy once. P.[administrator] has challenged it several times. Several times he's been right to do that, because I had gone into some things blindly, not knowing all the facts but based on what I saw, this was the way I wanted to do it. P., he challenges. He's good though. But my supervisor hasn't really. And let me just say that if he has overruled something in such a way that it's different than what I said it was, 9 times out of 10 he can show me why.... My reaction to their confrontation, I guess a lot of times when they confront other people on campus, they don't respond to them. I do. I speak up. I say, "Shit, I wouldn't do it that way. I don't want to do it that way. That way is wrong because - " "Don't be so defensive." And then we get into the argument about what is defensive: "What do you mean? I'm just suppose to sit here and nod my head?" I even looked the definition of being defensive; it said 'protective.' I'm not being protective; I'm expressing my opinion. For the longest time, when we were going to have challenging discussions I said, "Let me tell you something, I'm in here with an open mind. Don't call me defensive because that will piss me off." "Well you're starting off defensive." But do you understand what I'm saying? I didn't like that word at all.

CP: They kept throwing in your face, this is what the problem is: the problem is you, the problem is not the issue or situation.

N: Yes, yes. But that hasn't happened this year. I wrote him a letter on it. "Thanks for not calling me defensive all year even though we've had some nice challenges. It was nice to work with you this year because you actually took a shot at listening to what I was saying. Not calling me defensive." But you know, there was a couple of times where I was kind of put in my place because I made some mistakes. I didn't have all the facts. I think when a person says, "You don't have all the information, and you're just kind of talking out of your ass, and let me tell you why." When you hear that, sometimes that's not as good as you're hearing "Don't be a little defensive." I think I'd rather hear that at one time or another....

[Re: making meaning] For the first part, in seeing how things outside my office or things outside of me affect what I do, they happen on several different levels. The first one is being exposed to other professionals and seeing how they do their job, seeing how they interact with their supervisor, who may or may not be the same one that I have,

and seeing how their staff responds to them. And basically what I do is I try to pick up the good qualities, and the good things, and the strengths of other professionals that I know, and try to make them into how I do my job. I have certain expectations of me, of my supervisor, and how I handle my day to day stuff is just making sure that what I need to get done gets done. At the same time I try to be a resource to the students. I deal with the students on a daily basis. Both the students who work here in this office and the students who I serve as director of housing. I cater to their needs. I try to be not only a resource, I try to be pro-active in helping students understand why they're here. It's part of my job is to help make clear, to try to make sense out of this stuff, to make sense why living in the residence hall is more than just sleeping there. That it's an experience that's going to help you grow. I do that through programmatic efforts, through discipline, through maintenance interactions, and just when I walk from here to there when I deal with people. I try to have a developmental approach to everything that I do here. Development means helping students to grow into contributing members of society as well as getting to know themselves and who they are and how they fit....

First of all, since I was in junior high school, this is when I started this tape [interview], I've always felt that I've been in a kind of a glass house or under a microscope, or where I'm always feeling that someone is watching what I do and how well I do it. And so being a Black male administrator on a White campus I always strive for perfection in everything that I do. And not only do I strive for perfection, the reason I do it is because I don't want someone to assess what I've done and say that it's not as good as someone else could have done who's not like me. Almost as insurance that I'm doing the job and doing it correctly, I'll give a 110 and 120% on things. And so now that's automatic; I always do that. I think there's a word that you use for when you're looking in on someone in like a glass box, there's a phrase that's kind of catchy that people use, and I feel that that kind of pressure is on me to perform. Whenever someone is critical of what I do, or questions what I do, I take it not only as an administrator but as a brother, as a Black man, that not only are they criticizing me as a director of housing but also criticizing my efforts as a Black man. I will carry that baggage around with me all the time but that's because people are not critical of me all the time. And when it happens I take it very personally. Even if the criticism is given constructively, it's like, you're assessing how well I've done something. The fact that it's done is not the issue. It's how it got done, and somehow, sometimes people may suggest a better way. I can appreciate those kinds of suggestions. I like to get them before I do something though. If you give me a task to do and then I go and do it, and you don't evaluate it but you criticize how it got

done, then to me the fact that it got done is the important thing. If I want to spend the extra hour or 45 minutes, or man, woman power to get things done, it's my prerogative. If you would like to see it done a certain way, those kinds of suggestions need to come beforehand. And I've noticed, not only here but at A. [university], high school, and in junior high, is that a lot of people would kind of wait and let you hang yourself before they would come and assist you. I would say here at B. [college] though, I've found that less than at other places. And the fact that I'm a Black administrator at a predominantly White campus also affects my choices and decisions when I'm dealing with other Black students or Hispanic students or Asian American, Native American Indian students. I feel more of a closeness to those folks. I'm willing to give them the benefit of the doubt a lot of the times, mostly because I think a lot of folks have not had the benefit of the doubt. And so if a person forgets to pay this thing on this given date and they come into my office, I want to hook them up because they don't usually get those kinds of opportunities. I would help out other students too sometimes, depending if they're on my shitlist or not, but I feel more of a closeness to the Black students here, especially to those who are really working hard. There are also times where I make decisions not to give Black students, or a Black student the benefit of the doubt, because in some instances they should know better, and should have followed the directions and read the rules and had the stuff in on time, and they need to learn that. And I teach them that too. That's more painful for me though. It's tough for me when I have to see them again, especially when you take someone's housing away, which I've done. And if it's a sister, a Black woman who I've done that too, I have to treat them like I treat any other student, but it hurts a little bit more when I have to exercise my authority in that way. I think how my Blackness affects my day to day stuff is I add style to what I do. I have some rhythm. Whether it's my phone conversation - I talk to parents, they know I'm a brother. I'm a professional though, but that flow, that juice just comes out.

The design of my office suggests - not including these little piles around here - they suggest maybe this is an office of a Black man here, 'cause you got Malcolm X's book, you got Martin Luther King's book, you got the book there on Roots, you got Black Psychology, and now you got the Martin Luther King calendar up there, you got sayings and things suggesting this is a brother here, and the pictures on my desk, kind of reflect my environment. My house is the same way.... It suggests some diversity. When I interact with students, when I sit down and talk with them one-on-one regardless of who they are my authority is clear. At first, when I first got here and I knew that I was the director of housing, I really put out my authority in a strong kind of

way to almost emphasize that I'm in charge. At that time I think I didn't command the respect, I demanded it. And then as I began to see that my organizational leadership ability and then the respect that my staff had for me went beyond my staff, I began to just let things happen and just flow, and my leadership, organizational ability, and the experience was accepted by students and the staff outside this office as well as my own staff.

I think sometimes how I make choices and decisions about what I do reflect my common sense about how I do things. My common sense and how I do things would be different from another administrator because their experiences in the past have been different ... another White administrator.... For example, there are, I'd say maybe 25 to maybe 30 Black, Hispanic, Asian students on this campus, in the residence halls. Well someone is going to come in and wants to sell products. Wants to open up the common room, wants to sell some tee shirts, flags, pins, caps, sweats, etc. That could be done in the student center, but they also want to come up here and deal directly with the residence halls because they personalize them for the dorms and residence halls, et cetera. I said, "I'd like to see some of these products." And I looked at some of those products and personally, based on my experience as a Black man would find some of those things offensive, oppressive, racist, a number of other kinds of things that maybe a White administrator might not find. So my decision not to have those products in general sold here would be based on my knowledge of how I think that small group, that minority of students would be affected by those products that were sold. Now I'm sure that there's other administrators who are White who would be sensitive to that also, but I don't know that the final decision not to have those sold up here would be made, whereas I could make those. Another example would be, we tell a lot of jokes here in the office. There are those jokes that are funny, and there are those that are insensitive. As opposed to not directly saying, "No joke telling here in the office," I think it's important that my staff members, and they have in the past, do part of their RA training and programming around human oppression issues. I require that. I want everyone around me to know what human oppression issues are....

Also sometimes the severity of sanctions, I've noticed, both here and at A., depending on who the hearing officer is and the type of violation that has occurred in a human justice area: racism, sexism, whatever, I think that sanctions vary based on who the person is. If the hearing officer is White they may or may not find that the racist remark, or the racist statement, or the racism vandalism, they might not take to heart the pain that that causes, the embarrassment that one feels, and the dehumanization that takes place from those kinds of acts. Whereas myself, when those kinds of acts take place, I feel dehumanized when they

happen, I feel embarrassed, and I feel oppressed by that so that my sanction for that would probably be more severe than another campus hearing officer. So again, another conscious decision is being made by me and is affected by the fact that I'm a Black male, but I don't know if it necessarily comes from being a Black male on a predominantly White campus. I think the fact that some of these things happen is because the campuses are predominantly White. It gives people a lot of room to behave inappropriately in a racist kind of way, whereas as a campus which is more diverse culturally, ethnically, religiously, you will have less of those kinds of human oppression issues coming up....

On a professional level, I probably have learned most from my immediate supervisor ... and he is very diplomatic and democratic, and he also gets his message across. I like that. And I think a lot that has come over to how I do my job. The person who I probably have, I admire the most in how he handles situations is S. [Black administrator]. He's very tactful, he's very well organized, and his messages are crystal clear, there's no confusion, there's no excuses for not hearing what he's said. And I like that about him. And he has helped me a lot too, mostly in dealing with other campus administrators. And the things that would really piss me off and I would really just want to go knock on their doors and say, 'yo', he would help me gather my wits about me, as did J., about bringing myself to a lower level. Bring myself down to behave in a way that people would expect you to act. There's ways of dealing with these people on a professional level, and the best way sometimes to do is to just ignore people....

I think the main thing that we [S.] have in common is that we both play ball. And so we just both began to play ball at lunch at [area college] and at the YMCA. And it was during the times we would change in the locker room I would bring up situations that happened and, "What would you do about that?" He has helped me, as I brainstorm problems and issues, he let me spill my guts about everything that was bothering me, picks up the two that seem to be the most crucial, and suggests to me things to think about as I think about the problem again. So he doesn't solve the problems but just puts the mechanisms that would help bring and tie those things together for me, and so I could deal with them much better and in a much better frame of mind. And so looking at these things as a problem, most of the time I've talked to him about a problem to him, he'd tell me, "Turn them around and see where they can work to my advantage. Not as a problem, but have these things work to your advantage."...

In another case I had a personal dilemma where I was hiring. And there are Affirmative Action rules and regulations and policies. I had mixed emotions about hiring someone who I wasn't quite sure was qualified for a position, but based on our needs to address Affirmative Action maybe I felt that I should hire this person just

because the person was of color. And plus, after talking with her, I think this person probably could have learned the job, but at the time I needed someone to come in who knew the job. Although we do have a training session I just don't know how long it would have taken. And so the other person who I wanted to hire was a White person. So I kind of bounced these ideas off of several administrators, all of whom were White. Their line was, "Hire the best person for the job." Knowing that the best person wasn't really a Black person. And I felt that too. And I felt that but I didn't know how to write that down. And I didn't know how to make it real clear that I needed to address these policies in a correct kind of way. But then when I asked, "How do I address that on paper?" "Well, I don't know..." They weren't really helping me. And I wanted to have the correct language so no one would get hurt and I wouldn't be violating it in some way. I go out and talk to S. He said, "That's an interesting thing. That doesn't normally happen. We're not really faced with those kinds of choices. What you have to know is that at this time, this person is the best person for the job. Maybe at a later time someone else might be better for the job.... But at this time, this is who is the best and this is who I'm recommending for the position." Just that little phrase there really made all the difference in the world for me because it was absolutely true. And I felt some guilt around not doing that but at the same time I had to go and hire who was going to help this office best at this time. And he [Black administrator] has been helpful in many many ways....

Well, it's helped me to become extremely well organized. It's helped other people who look at me - I've always felt confident - it's been more visible that other people have confidence in me. When I begin to seek a different road or a different path from what I'm doing now in terms of career, I will leave here with a whole bunch of confidence, a whole lot of resources and support groups, and I will leave here with a sense that I've done some good things here. A lot of good things, for students, my staff, and I've impacted on other administrators. The other thing that is really important for me ... is that it's one thing to find yourself just growing and developing as a professional and a person, if you're not helping others to do that and be that too, then you're not really doing everything that you can do. So I have worked very hard with my assistant - and she's a White female - to have her be all that she can be as an administrator. When I come in and judicate students that are really tough cases to handle I have her sit right in here and watch me deal with them. I turn over difficult and challenging things to her for her to help develop her skills, just as I've been fortunate to have other people do for me.

On a personal level I have interacted with other professionals outside of the college community in the same way. I bring my expertise to [community service

organizations] and handling crisis situations and community issues....

That support [from S. and from supervisor] doesn't help the loneliness. And I don't know that I really feel lonely, although the fact that I am alone here is very clear to me. I don't necessarily feel lonely, I don't need a whole bunch of people. What I meant by support is that there are people out there who, when I leave here, will say good things about me, will act as a reference. The president of the college, for example, is someone who has been very supportive of me through thick and then. I think he's appreciated the fact that he doesn't get a lot of calls concerning this area, although after they get these bills I sent out I think he's going to get a few calls. The chief of security is extremely supportive of me. I think because I am extremely supportive of him, and also we're friends. I've been very close with the athletic department folks. I have the biggest budget on campus so there are people who seek me out for different activities and programs and are very supportive here at the housing office. And so that comes back to me sometimes; it's really good....

[Re: future plans] But also I'm yearning for the classroom. Most of the compliments I've received in life have been from my ability to work with students, young people, younger even than college age students. That's junior high school, high school, even younger. And I like getting those kinds of compliments. I like being able to watch students learn. I like to be looked at as a person who has knowledge and who can help them. There are always things that you have to do in school too: correcting papers, giving tests, ... but it can be a different experience too. And it can be less tedious, have students develop critical thinking.

Also I want to get my doctorate degree. It's time for me to get back into an academic setting. And I found that when I was working in the classroom it was much easier for me to feel like an academician because I was teaching and I was also learning, and there were things that I was learning that I was bringing right to the classroom the very next day.... And I really want to do that now. I could have gone right to a doctorate right when I got my master's degree but I wanted to have some of the brain cells refurbished because I definitely killed off a few of them trying to get that master's degree. But at the same time I wanted experiences that I could use that would lend some credence to the doctorate. I don't want to be one of those bookworms: you read this, you read that, and then you have to form your opinion on stuff that you read rather than from your own experiences, or having your experiences, lend some credibility to what you're writing about, is crucial for me. Those are my projected goals....

I would say that if I had to do it all over again, there would be some things that I would probably change, and the point that you just hit on there, I think that I would

probably do more to help Black students become more aware of what my job is and what residence life has to offer to them down the road. It's not really too late to do that, but I think that I'd like to do that. I think I've made my family really proud, ... proud of me that I'm doing something that's good, honest, I'm good at what I do. And so when I'm home or I'm out there with my folks, "This is my son and this is what he does." And I've made them very proud of me. I'm proud of myself for getting this far. I thought that I would not be here, not in this business.

APPENDIX K

WRITTEN CONSENT FORM

The Experience of Black Male Administrators at Predominantly White Four-Year Higher Education Institutions: A Study Through In-Depth Interviews

1. I, Carlton Pickron, am a doctoral candidate in the School of Education, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Massachusetts. As a part of my doctoral dissertation I am conducting a research study which requires that I interview 10-15 black male administrators. I am interested in conducting this research study because I have been working on a white campus as an administrator for the last 6 years. Through the use of this study I wish to explore how black male administrators make meaning of their work. Each participant will be a working full-time black male administrator at the director's level or higher at predominantly white four-year college or university.

2. You are being asked to be a participant in this study. I will conduct 3 one and one-half hour in-depth interviews with you. The first interview will attempt to obtain a historical perspective of significant events, conditions, and traits of your earlier experiences that led you to your work in higher education. The second interview will focus on what it is like to be a black male administrator working on a predominantly white campus. The final interview will have you reflect on the meaning and understanding of your experience with respect to your life.

3. The interviews will be audio-taped and later transcribed by a secretary. My goal is to analyze and compose the materials from your interviews, using them to develop an understanding of what your experience has been and how you make meaning of this experience in your life as a black male administrator.

This understanding would be used in:

- a. my dissertation,
- b. journal articles,
- c. presentations to professional groups.

In all written material and oral presentations in which I may use materials from your interviews, I will use neither your name, names of people close to you, nor the name of your college or university. Transcripts will be typed with initials replacing all proper names.

4. While consenting at this time to participate in these interviews, you may at any time withdraw from the actual interview process.

5. Furthermore, while having consented to participate in the interview process, and having done so, you may withdraw your consent to have specific excerpts from your interviews used in any printed or oral presentations. I request a minimum two week notice from you in order that I may make the appropriate change.

6. In signing this form you are agreeing to the use of the materials from your interviews as indicated in this consent form. If I were to use the material in any other way I would contact you to gain your additional written consent.

7. In signing this form, you are also assuring me that you will make no financial claim against me for the use of the materials from your interviews.

8. In signing this consent form you are also stating that no medical treatment will be required by you from the University of Massachusetts or by me should any injury result from participating in these interviews.

9. Finally, at your request, I will be happy to furnish you with the audio-tapes of your interviews and any copies of presented written materials from your interview.

Carlton Pickron
18 Greenwich Rd
Amherst, Massachusetts 01002
(W) (413) 568-3311 (H) (413) 253-2402

I, _____, have read the above statement and agree to participate as an interviewee under the conditions stated in this consent form.

Signature of Participant

Date

Interviewer

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